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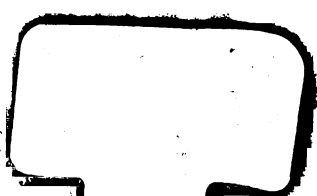
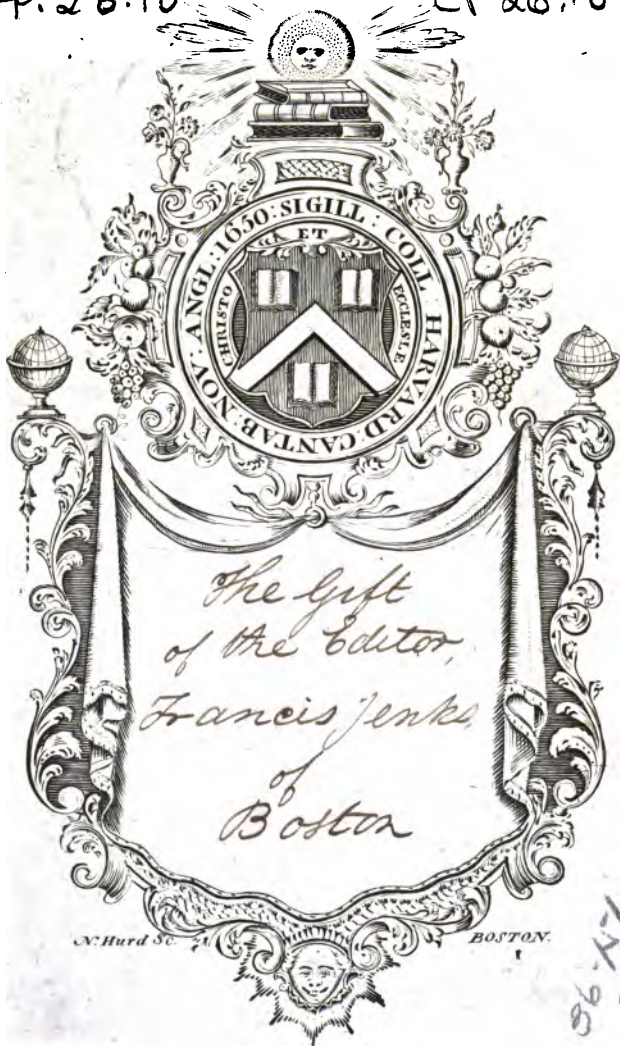
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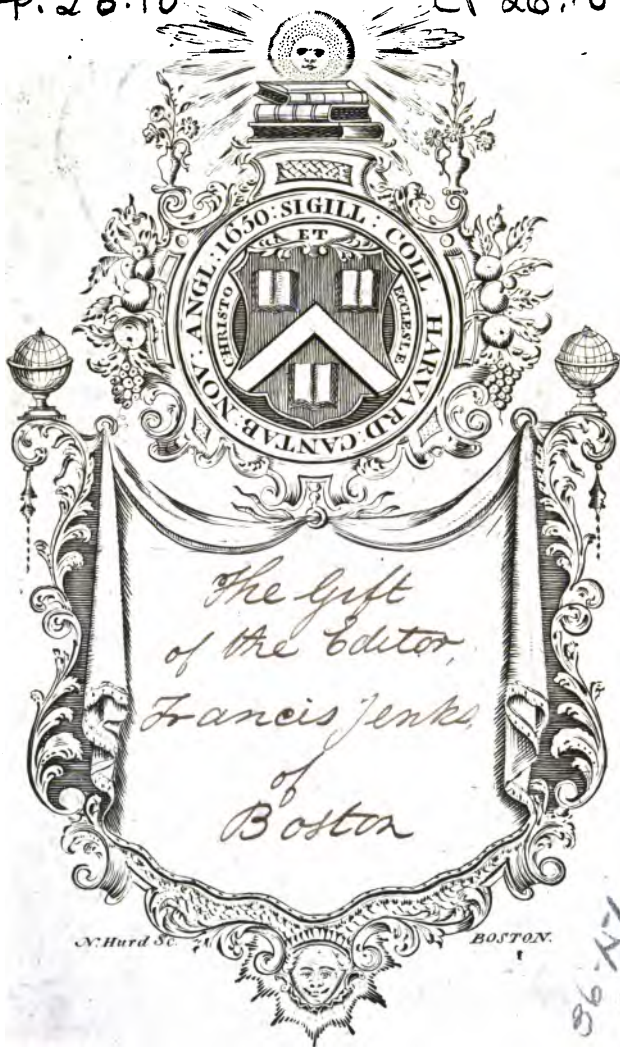
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

VOL. VII.

NEW SERIES, VOL. II.

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NO. XXXIV.

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SEPTEMBER, 1829.

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2. *An Oration delivered before the Citizens of Nantucket, July 4, 1829.* By WILLIAM MORSE. Boston. Putnam & Hunt. 1829. 8vo. pp. 16.

SINCE the publication of our last number, the great political anniversary of the country has passed, and has been hailed with all those demonstrations of public rejoicing which the sage Adams so vividly foresaw, and so well described, at the very moment when he was putting his hand to the solemn instrument that declared us a free people. There is, in the affairs of men, a time to act, and there is a time to meditate. There is a time to conceive bold projects, and to execute them without fear or doubting; and there is an after time to consider their results, to guard the treasure which has been gained, to keep with diligence that which has been achieved with valor; a time to discriminate, to weigh, to watch, and to fear. Our revolution was a season of high resolve and undaunted actions. In the battle that summoned our fathers from their homes, no man's heart was to be shaken by doubts or foreboding; distrust and admonition had no place there; fear would have been cowardice. So men must act; they cannot be everything, or embrace everything at once. But now, the season of calm reflection and reasonable solicitude has come; now, fear is wisdom; now, the harder battle is to be fought, which demands

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I

moderation, and temperance, and patience, and virtue that endures unto the end. Then, it was proper that freedom should be regarded chiefly as a blessing, that it should be worshipped as a divinity. Now, it is meet that we should look upon liberty as a trust; and if as a divinity, yet as a divinity like that Providence which dispenses all its best blessings on strict and severe conditions.

We have adverted to the late anniversary of our independence, and have placed at the head of this article some of the addresses which this occasion called forth, chiefly to give a direction to the thoughts of our readers. It is not our purpose to comment on this occasion, or on these addresses; nor will our remarks be confined to this country, though they are particularly designed to bear upon our duties as freemen, both in politics and religion. The cause of civil and religious liberty is the cause of human welfare. It binds itself with all our thoughts of the probable advancement of the human race in virtue and happiness. In this march of improvement our own country, indeed, may be considered as occupying the foremost place, and therefore deserves special notice as the great leading example. But the subject, in our apprehension, is limited to no one country. It embraces the best interests and hopes of all mankind. We look upon this world, indeed, as the field for a great moral experiment. A trial is passing upon its mighty theatre, and it is the trial of human souls. It is the conflict of knowledge with ignorance, of truth with error, of virtue with temptation, of piety with worldliness. The great end of the trial, so far as man is concerned, is to see whether he will work out his own welfare; whether, with moral faculties bestowed, with Providence teaching him, with Heaven's aid offered to assist him, he will become wise, good, and happy. This, to our view, is the grandest, the most comprehensive, the most momentous aspect of this world's history. And we confess, that when we look upon this history, when we look upon the crowded paths of past generations, and the struggling multitudes of men that have walked in them; when we survey the dark clouds that have hung over them,—that have gathered into thick darkness over fields of blood, over cities plunged into vice and licentiousness, over empires of despotism, over burning altars of superstition, and mournful regions of ignorance,—we confess that our hearts have sunk within us; and we have felt that it were meet for every reflecting man to say, in

the words of the holy lamentation, "Oh! that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep for the slain"—for the broken and bowed down, for the sinful and miserable of my kindred and people!" And, indeed, if we believed that this world were designed to finish the moral education of men; if it were anything more than, so to speak, the primary school for moral and immortal creatures; if there were no further scene of improvement, we should still feel that the great problem of moral probation, and the mystery of Providence, and the experiment on human welfare, had no solution.

In this great moral experiment, our own position as a nation, we repeat, is one of a most interesting character. It is a singular and unprecedented state of things on a *large* scale, that here is a people to whom the task is committed, without compulsion, without prescription, without any heritage of antiquated and superannuated laws, or institutions, or usages, freely to work out their own weal or wo; that here is a people, who are undertaking to think, to form opinions, and to act for themselves, on all subjects and matters touching their political, social, and religious welfare. This, at least, is the theory of our intellectual and moral condition; and it is going into effect far enough, at least, to justify a very deep and sober solicitude for the future. For let us say what we will about the just place which human interests occupy when deposited in the hands of the parties whose welfare is involved; let us repeat the maxims as often as we may, that 'truth is powerful and will prevail,' that 'freedom is the richest boon of Heaven,' 'that knowledge is safe,' that intellectual light is moral promise, still we maintain, that this experiment is not safe, and cannot come to a happy issue, without great care and exertion and fidelity on the part of those to whose hands it is committed. And we solemnly believe, that it is scarcely too much to say, that he who would be faithful to these times, and to this country, must be faithful to them with a zeal falling nothing behind that of apostles and martyrs. It is not they alone, who have poured out their blood upon their country's altars of whom this fidelity was demanded; but it is equally demanded of those who are now fighting the battle with vice and ignorance, with superstition and intolerance, with headstrong passion and unscrupulous selfishness, and every foe to human welfare.

Liberty, we repeat, whether civil or religious, whether of

conscience or of action, whether for the mind or for the body, is a *trust*. This is our text; and we would that we had opportunity and power to preach a doctrine from it, that should reach to the highest, and penetrate to the lowest classes of society; that should cause itself to be felt from the loftiest seat of magistracy and the bench of justice, to the humblest exercise of suffrage and dispensation of equity between man and man; a doctrine, too, that should govern the most exalted minds in their moral reasonings, and the lowest minds in their too often untempered resistance to religious domination. This blessed boon of Heaven, like all its noble gifts, is a solemn charge, of whose fulfilment or neglect God will require an account, and man must feel the consequences. On this point everything turns; on the feeling, to make ourselves distinctly understood, and that feeling carried into practice, that *liberty is a trust*. We have heard its praises justly and eloquently expressed; we have heard its fruits and advantages set forth in glowing colors; we have heard much inflated language, indeed, on this favorite theme, but we have gone away, saying, 'All this is but a sound and a name, if the people, by a sober, and faithful use, do not make liberty to be that boon which it is so constantly represented to be.'

And what we are now saying, let us be permitted to add, goes beyond the ordinary admissions on this subject. It is common to admit that 'the freedom of a nation depends upon its intelligence and virtue.' This is one of those vague and general maxims, that press upon everybody alike, and affects nobody in particular. It is not made a personal and private conviction and motive. It does not come home. It is like saying to children, 'You must be good children, for a great many good things are bestowed upon you, and if you are not good, all these things will be taken away;' very excellent sayings, conveying, indeed, a vague sense of responsibility, and an indistinct apprehension of coming evil, but not conveying the home-felt conviction, that happiness is put into every one's care and keeping. That, in truth, is the great office of freedom—to put every one's happiness into his care and keeping. And it addresses a strict and serious language to us. We do not think it enough to say to a family, 'Your welfare, your domestic happiness, depends on your intelligence and virtue;' we go into particulars. We say, 'It depends on such and such virtues. It depends on your fidelity and forbearance towards

one another, on your disinterested affection, and seeking of the common good.' And thus must we speak to the great political family. It is time that the morality, the *morale* of civil trusts, and of courts of justice, and of all political functions, in one word, that the duties of freemen, should be more thoroughly discussed among us; for these things are only regarded in the general.

And if our views go beyond the common admissions on this subject, we must say, also, that they go against the common and popular impressions. The prevailing, and almost the only idea of liberty, is, that it is a blessing. We shall endeavour, before we have done, to show in what respects it is indeed an invaluable good. For the present, we observe, that the idea of it as a blessing, is almost the only one that enters into the general estimate. It is this that constitutes the burden of so many of our anniversary orations, though we are glad to hear from this quarter a tone of greater sobriety and caution. It is this that is proclaimed when the 'trumpet to the cannon speaks, the cannon to the heavens.' It is this that rings out from the merry chime of bells that welcomes the anniversary morning. It is this that blazes forth from all the glare and splendor of our public celebrations. Now we are willing frankly to say, at whatever hazard of being thought to look coldly upon the cause of liberty, that we distrust the feeling that enters into these rejoicings. We are afraid that many look upon this boasted freedom as a liberty to do what they will, and not to do what they ought. The man who celebrates his freedom till he becomes licentious and noisy, and has lost the government of himself, can have little credit with us, for the value he puts upon this heavenly gift. Our very celebrations have doubtless too commonly shown, that, as a people, we have anything but a just estimate of our transcendent privileges.

But we now take up again the burden of our doctrine. Give freedom to any mind, and you put that mind to a severe trial of its character. Give freedom to any people, and you subject that people to a test, which no nation under heaven has ever been able to bear.

In the beautiful tales of Berquin, our readers will recollect the story of the children who would be their own masters. Freedom places man in the same condition. It makes them their own masters, and they must be no longer children, but men indeed, if they would safely bear the trial. We hold

that with many the case may fall out as it did with the unhappy children in the story, who pursued their own course till they quarrelled, and gorged their appetites with rich viands till they were sick, and plunged themselves into difficulties, which, but for timely interference, would have ended fatally.

We say this in religion. It is very possible that freedom of mind may be the means of injury to many, just as it is to the froward child too early released from parental control, or the flippant youth casting off the impressions of a religious education, only to rush into infidelity and atheism. It is a sincere and sound and honest mind only, that can be safely entrusted with perfect liberty. To think freely, to be free from all prejudices of every sort, it is a great trial to the strength and virtue of any mind. Take for illustration the case of your child. Suppose, that having been taught that reason and conscience should govern him, he should, with somewhat unusual precocity, seize upon this notion, and undertake to act upon these principles; that he should begin to question your authority as inferior to these laws. You would look upon that child as in great danger. You might hope much good, but you would fear much evil. So it is with men. Freedom of mind, imperfect freedom, such as might exist in the child,—for we are inclined to say that perfect freedom can belong only to a perfect mind, and would in fact be perfect safety,—freedom of mind, in the ordinary sense, we repeat, is a serious exposure. It is a trial, undoubtedly, from which the noblest form of character may arise; but still it is a trial. This, indeed, is the very theory and explanation of our moral condition in this world. It is a state of severe trial to all our virtues, in order that the noblest character may be produced by it. But it is clear that many fail; that what was designed to be the greatest good to them, becomes the greatest evil. And so it may be with freedom of mind in religion. It must injure bad men. It must injure those who desire to escape from all moral restraint. We do not say, that it were better for them to be slaves of superstition, or of error, or of authority. We believe that God made the mind to be free. We are willing that it should be in the state which was designed for it. We are willing that it should meet its trial, for we believe *that* is the will of God. But we would warn that mind of its danger; we would admonish it, that no intellectual freedom, no resistance to unlawful coercion, no railing at dogmatical authority, can make, much less show it, to be a good mind.

We say this in politics. We say it more indeed, of bodies politic, than we do of individual minds. We believe it is better that masses of men should not be placed under free constitutions, till they have the intelligence and virtue that promises success to the experiment. 'A grand concession,' the opposers of civil liberty, no doubt would say, if any concession from a quarter so humble, could be important. We will turn aside, then, a moment to consider it. For we would show, that if we see cause to admonish the advocates of liberty, we are much further from any sympathy with their opposers. We yield to them, therefore, all the benefit of our caution and anxiety on this subject, and yet we are at issue with them. We agree with them, that liberty has its dangers, and that many communities are unfit for it. But we deny, what in consistency they must maintain, we deny that human nature is necessarily so bad, or that it must continue so bad, that it cannot be trusted with freedom. We deny, that the very theory of a political condition, in which men shall make and amend their own institutions and laws, is fanciful and Utopian. We believe that there is a sufficient prevalence and promise of knowledge and moral habits in this country, to conduct the experiment to a happy issue. We believe that other countries are approaching to the same condition. Be it admitted that liberty is a dangerous thing to a people unprepared for it; but be it contended that the civilized world is advancing, though slowly, to the requisite state of morals and intelligence. And therefore are we still more at issue with those who are advocates for keeping the people in ignorance. They say, it is dangerous to the institutions of the Old World, that the people should be enlightened. Be it so. Then let those institutions be gradually changed, as the wants of the people demand and their intelligence can bear it. Let the shackles burst from the frame that is swelling with the inspiration of generous freedom. Our readers will recollect in this connexion, some remarkable admissions in the late *Quarterly Review*. From a quarter where concessions are stronger than any arguments, we rejoice to hear it admitted that the institutions of England must be modified to meet the exigences of the times and the spirit of the age. It has long seemed to us as clear as the sun in heaven, that England, in the course of a century, must undergo great changes in her institutions. Heaven grant that her rulers and her aristocracy may have wisdom to yield to the pressure

of growing knowledge and freedom of thought, without that strife and bloodshed which have formerly marked every step in her path to her present degree of liberty. In truth, it is time that England, and other governments in the Old World, were beginning to think of these things. If the light, the kindling warmth that is now pervading the masses of their population be on every side checked and repressed, it will ere long burst forth when no human bidding can restrain it. If it be yet more pent up, it may once again reveal itself in that 'earthquake voice,' which will spread astonishment and horror through the world.

But to return to our position ; we repeat, that the liberty of a people is a severe trial of its character, and one that no people has yet been able to bear. We need not dwell upon examples and instances. We need not say, that ancient times and modern times, that countries of the Old World and of the New World, unite to give this testimony and warning. We need not say, that the earth is tracked over with flaming beacons to show the perils of liberty ; that Judea, for the Jews were the freest people in the ancient world, and Greece and Rome and France and Spain, are names that bring admonition with them, and that Peru and Colombia and Mexico are now added to the portentous catalogue of facts and instances. We need not dwell upon these examples, not only because they are familiar by repetition, or near to us by local position, but because the lesson they enforce arises from the very genius and character of free institutions. What is it for a people to be free ? It is for every man to be a voter at elections, for every man in his turn to sit in judgment on the rights and property of his fellow citizens, for every man to be eligible to office, and the highest office ; for every man to have a voice in making or amending the laws, for every man, in short, to do his pleasure in as many ways as the common good will permit. Despotism, hereditary trusts, fixed institutions, are all removed in a free state, to make way for the single element of individual responsibility. It must be a great responsibility, for everything depends upon it, the whole fabric of government rests upon it. It is universal ; it presses upon every man. It is a moral responsibility ; it demands fidelity, it exacts obedience. Men must be virtuous, disinterested, sober, watchful, wise, to a certain extent, or they cannot be free ; that is to say, they cannot preserve any rational freedom. This condi-

tion of society implies in its members, a mutual respect for each other's rights and interests. And such a charge can be safely sustained only by reasonable and considerate men. To commit free institutions to the rude, the reckless, and violent, is to commit a fabric of frail and loose materials to the wild and tumultuous waves of the ocean. The responsibility implied in this state of things, we must add, is peculiar ; it is greater than is involved in any other political condition. A despotism may stand, and has often stood, for ages, without either virtue or intelligence to support it. It stands in prescription ; it stands in the fear of the people. It is strengthened by the very ignorance of the people. But it cannot be so with a republic. Take an illustration on a small scale. So long as the slaves on a plantation are under the absolute rule of a master, they are quiet and safe ; their motions are regular as those of machinery, and their individual responsibility amounts to almost nothing. But form them into a free community, and into what danger do you throw them, and what consequence is attached to the conduct of every individual ! So it is with the citizens of a free state. Freedom can only keep pace with improvement. It implies in its possessors self-control. It is a trust, and nothing but fidelity can discharge it. Let the passions of men be like untamed wild animals, and it is better that they should be fenced in and fettered by prescription, and guarded in cages, than be suffered to go loose. It is better for the men themselves during the passing generation, though free and more violent action might in the long course of things work out higher results.

We have been laboring to show that liberty is a trust, and a dangerous trust. To the same purpose we now offer another remark ; which is, that the institutions of a free state, are altogether of the nature of a defence against the passions of men, and are constructed upon the very supposition that those passions are dangerous.

Let us look, then, at some parts of the machinery of a free government ; and since it is so constantly and exclusively a theme of boasting, let us consider the nature of the defence with which it provides us. It ought not to be said of freemen that they cannot count the cost, and weigh, against all objections, the worth of their privileges.

The truth is that free institutions are nothing but burdensome and expensive provisions against the selfish and violent

passions of men. The system of representation is an instance of this. Ten men, the best and wisest that could be found, and chosen for life, could more skilfully, more discreetly and calmly legislate for us, than one or two hundred chosen annually, and therefore inexperienced ; chosen at hazard from the people, and therefore less qualified ; or chosen under high party excitement, and therefore comparatively disqualified. And who, indeed, had not rather refer to one man, distinguished for his knowledge, wisdom, and virtue, the decision of some difficult state question, than to commit it to a popular assembly ? But here is the difficulty, we cannot trust one man or ten men, with such a responsibility at all ; much less permanently. There is more danger of ambition, more exposure to bribery, to corrupt influence, more liability to act on partial and selfish views, among a few. We fear that unless the interests of all are represented in form, the interests of all will not be taken into the account in fact. Hence the land must be often agitated and embroiled with contested elections ; prejudices and jealousies must be stirred up between neighbours and friends ; time must be expended, and after all, property must be taxed, to pay the expense of our costly privileges. This is freedom, and we value it ; but we see reason to put a sober estimate upon it. It is not exempt from that law which has passed upon every outward blessing of life ; to wit, that it must be procured at an expense proportioned to its value.

Look again at the structure of a free government in itself considered. What are checks and balances, as they are called, in its political organization, but checks upon the passions and caprices of men, and balances of their selfish interests ? We must have an unwieldy organization of three branches in the government, and a law cannot pass, till it has gone round to them all and secured their concurrence ; and all this lest one branch should have an interest to do what it ought not to do, and what may be prevented by the others.

Once more ; our boasted trial by jury is liable to the same exceptions. It is a security, in some cases an indispensable one, but still a clumsy and costly security. The practice, which prevails on the continent of Europe, of trial by judges alone, gives a far more speedy, and, in many cases, a far more correct decision. It must unavoidably happen, that twelve men, drawn by lot from the mass of the people, are incompetent to analyze and resolve many of the complicated cases of

law that come before them ; and after all, they ordinarily rely on the charge of the judge. Here, then, are twelve men, taken from their families and their business, and brought together to attend the examination of witnesses, to hear arguments, to be tried often with ingenuity and sophistry, to be wearied with discussion, and after all to do what in most cases would be better done, more intelligently and accurately, and more directly done, without them. Lawsuits are protracted, the evil passions of litigation are confirmed, expenses accumulated, till patience and property are both exhausted ; and all through the very imperfection, the clumsiness, if we may speak so, of this boasted provision for trial by jury. What purpose then does it serve ? A very important purpose without doubt, and one that is sufficient to vindicate all the trouble it gives us. It serves, as far as anything can, to prevent the possibility of corruption. An independent jury stands between the citizen and the possible oppression of the government. Whoever is brought to the bar of his country on the charge of having violated its laws, instead of being in the power of his superiors, who might have their reasons for wishing to crush him, may commit himself to the impartial and disinterested justice of a jury of his fellow citizens and equals.

Free institutions, we repeat, are predicated upon the very supposition that there is danger. They are barriers, and they are not impregnable barriers ; they can offer resistance only to a certain extent. They are battlements, and their security and defence must depend very much on those who man them. In short, everything depends on fidelity to the great trust.

This fidelity we now urge by one further and final consideration.

We may appear to some to have disparaged the worth of civil and religious freedom. We would not be thought, however, to undervalue it. We certainly go along, quite as far as our reflection will justify, with the common estimate of it. To enjoy the greatest freedom is certainly one of the greatest of blessings. To be 'lords of ourselves, though not of lands,' to be free, though poor, though depressed, though destitute of almost everything else, seems nearly a compensation for the want of everything besides. To do, and say, and write almost what we please, to go where we will, to breathe the free air, and tread the free earth, with no bitter exaction or lowering frown of a tyrant to curse the soil or to darken the sky ; to

have no self-constituted or titled masters or nobles, before whom to bow; to be compelled, in other words, to pay no homage but to well earned distinction, to stand amidst those whom God and nature have made no better and no worse than ourselves, free and equal,—this seems to us a manifest and great good, a signal and blessed fortune, a lot salutary and favorable to all our highest powers, our best sentiments, and the most excellent virtues. But after all we suspect that our pride, our resistance to just rule, to the just control of wisdom and moderation, may enter into our appreciation of this blessing. We would take a more strict and sober account of it. We conceive, indeed, and this is the consideration we were about to bring forward, that liberty in fact is in its very nature a blessing that implies the most dangerous of trusts; that it imperatively calls upon us to be thoughtful and serious and wise; that its very greatness should fill us with caution and self-distrust; that its very glory, like that of reason and a moral nature, may be turned only to more exceeding shame and ruin.

We would not awaken unreasonable distrust of this gift, but seriousness and fidelity in the use of it. We feel, indeed, if the remark will not bring our modesty into question, that we touch a great theme, and one of wide relations; and we would say nothing rashly. Free action of mind and of communities, manifesting itself through the press and popular elections, free action of every man's wit and wisdom and invention for the individual and the common weal, is the great feature of the age. We look with unspeakable solicitude to the event. We feel as if this poor world, stricken, for ages stricken with its own follies and crimes, were taking its great chance; and we would, therefore, that men in this country, and in every country, might think and speak and act soberly, as conscious of the weighty trust and the coming issue.

Let us say, then, with all due consideration, that freedom is in its very nature, a comparative, a conditional, and we must add, an unstable good. It is comparative. It is better than despotism, but it is only better; it is not an absolute and certain benefit to any people. It is conditional. It is not so distinctly and independently a blessing as the gifts of nature or the faculties of mind. It is only a permission, under the fewest possible restrictions compatible with the general good, to use the gifts of nature and the faculties of our minds, according to our own pleasure. The benefit, therefore, does not

exist, till our own wisdom and virtue give it being. It is anarchy and misrule, without these. Liberty is not so much an advantage, as it is an opportunity. It does not so far naturally or necessarily benefit any being, as his own reason, or the bounties of life; and yet these are far from possessing any absolute power to bless him: And, we must say, also, that it is an unstable good. Liberty is not a fixture. It is not an establishment. It is not a government. That is but the form of liberty; the spirit, the essence is in the minds of the people. The forms of a republican government may be made as oppressive as a despotism. Liberty abides in nothing, and has security in nothing, but the spirit of the people. We greatly mistake, it is apprehended, and yet we are afraid that as a nation we do thus mistake, when we suppose that there is anything in the structure of our government, that can save us from following in that gloomy train of examples that has darkened all the paths of history. It is not the government that can sustain the people; but it is the people that must sustain the government. It is not the Constitution that will preserve our character; but it is our character that must preserve the Constitution. It is not the political creed of the country that can uphold its faith and faithfulness; but the faith, the faithfulness of the people it is, that must uphold the creed.

Again we say, let us not be misunderstood. Freedom, in every form, of every kind, is a transcendent privilege. Freedom of mind is a glorious gift. It is a blessing beyond all price, and beyond all power of language to express. We are ready to say that no man can surpass us, and that no man can instruct us, in the unutterable sense of its value. It is a good which nothing can transcend but the use of it. That dominion in the mind, that holy retreat from violence, oppression, and wrong; that place in the soul where freedom is, with its wide and boundless range of uncontrolled thoughts, with no power to govern in it but truth and right, with no presence to be worshipped but the presence of the Divinity,—it is the chosen dwelling-place of our most precious thoughts. But then, it is a 'holy place,' and to be entered with trembling. It is like the flaming Mount of old, glorious indeed, but sending out awful voices to warn the rash intruder. It is dangerous, because it is glorious. Freedom of mind, like every exalted trust, like lofty intellect, immense wealth, and vast dominion, should inspire a solicitude, care, and fidelity, proportionate to the mag-

nitude of the trust. And so it is with the freedom of a people. Our sympathies are with it ; they are with it far abroad in every land where its air is breathed, and its soil is moistened with the dews of heaven. We go along, in our enthusiasm, with those who have labored and suffered in its holy cause. Our hearts are with them, when they put on buckler and sword as its last defence. Our hearts are with them, when in the ' red field ' they seal their devotion to it, in sacrifices of blood. But God forbid that what is so dearly bought, should be negligently kept. Let it be no matter of idle boast or vain parade. Let it not be celebrated with a merely childish and boisterous exultation. Those who have fought, should ponder. We cannot go along with panegyric and shout and holiday felicitations, without any consideration or sobriety. It does not become the dignity and manliness of free citizens, to look with idle admiration upon their institutions, as children do upon the show and glitter of a military parade, never considering the anarchy and distress to which it may easily be turned. These are ' childish things,' which it becomes a wise people to ' put away.' A free people must reflect, must understand their privileges, and must solemnly and virtuously resolve to preserve them, or in that fearful poise between good and evil where liberty places them, they will inevitably fall into evil, disorder, and destruction.

We have endeavoured in the observations which we have laid before our readers, to ' speak as to wise men.' And now do we beseech all men to be faithful to that great trust, which, as we have endeavoured to show, is implied in the possession of civil and religious liberty. It is a holy bequest from the faith and fortitude of elder times, sanctified by the prayers and tears and blood of our fathers. Millions in past ages have sighed for a draught from that fountain which is freely opened to us. Let not its waters be poisoned ; let them not be wasted.

We would lay solemn charge upon the conscience of every voter at our elections. Let him remember that he is performing the first duty of a freeman, and that God and his country demand an honest and an unprejudiced suffrage. Let him remember that if he is governed by selfish interest and passion, if he gives up his individual judgment and conscience to a party, if he listens to the bribery of any personal fear or hope, he is forsworn and perjured at the very altar of Liberty. He

has sold his very birthright, and he ought to be the slave in form, that he makes himself in reality, and some other man, of nobler and freer soul, albeit compelled to bow before the throne of a despot, deserves his privilege.

We appeal to the ministers of justice in our courts, to jurors and witnesses and advocates. Morality, as applicable to judicial transactions, is a subject that ought to be much more considered than it has been. Equal justice, we know, often arises from opposing considerations, from the conflict of men's thoughts. Let this conflict, then, be carried on, but let it be done honestly and fairly. There is no new code of morals for a man, because he is prosecuting or pleading a cause, or giving testimony before a public tribunal. No; the same law of God extends to all places, and it is only, if possible, more strict there than elsewhere. Wrong is worse there, because it puts on the form of right, and is done with deliberation. Anger and revenge have not the apology of haste; nor deceptive representations, of inadvertence; and falsehood, there, is perjury, and the perversion of justice is a breach of trust.

We would address ourselves, if our words could reach them, to men who are high in office. The inquiry often presses itself on our minds, and with unfeigned solicitude, whether the distinguished men in this country are looking with a sober sense of their duty and a deep feeling of their responsibility, to the great experiment, to which they are contributing so much to bring to a happy or a fatal issue. There may be those among them to whom all talk about their duties would pass for nothing better than cant. May God deliver this country from many such! If there ever were men to whom duty should be a serious word, who should tremble at their responsibility to God and men, they are the leading statesmen, orators, and teachers, whether religious or political, of this nation. If we could address them, we would say, 'No men ever enjoyed such an opportunity as is given to you, for accomplishing the best hopes of patriotism and philanthropy. Solon, Aristides, Demosthenes, the Fabii, Cato, and Cicero, had no such materials to work with as you have in the intelligence and virtue of this free people. To all human view, the last great experiment of republican freedom that is likely to be tried for ages, is passing under your guidance. The eyes of the world are upon you. Ages that have passed in the noble strife for liberty, ages of patriot tears and blood, call upon you, and unborn

generations echo the call to you, to be faithful to the solemn trust. For God's sake, and for your country's, let us say, let us intreat you, hear the call. The happiness of one family is a sacred charge. What then must be the happiness of millions through unknown periods! With these multitudes, it is not too serious to say, you must yet bow low before the seat of Almighty Justice. And then, when the dazzling world, with all its splendid honors, has passed away, one word of benediction from that throne of eternal truth and honor, shall be more than all the wreaths, the titles, the offices, the distinctions, that the world can heap upon you.'

But our main dependence, after all, is upon the whole body of the people; and to them, in the ultimate resort, do we direct our eyes for hope and safety. They can raise up or pluck down. Although they cannot give great talents or take them away, they can do much to elicit or to check them, to make them useful or injurious. And, indeed, this is one of the most material considerations that can be addressed to our communities. How much of the purest intelligence that adorns our country, how much of the truest wisdom, virtue, and moderation, how much real talent of the more delicate stamp, may be driven by party violence, abuse, and calumny, from the field of political usefulness, is a serious question.* If a man distinguished in office, be selfish and corrupt, let him be reprobated. But if there be 'good men and true' in such situations, let us be true to them; let us remember their services and toils; let us give them an honor which no fluctuations of party can shake; let us think of them, not with indifference as a part of the machinery of government, nor with envy as exalted, but with gratitude, with confidence, and, we deem it not too serious to say, with prayers for them.

In every view, indeed, that we can take of liberty and its institutions, we shall find that they press down upon the mass of the people as an individual trust; and if freedom be anything valuable, it must be by becoming an individual good. Liberty ordains no lofty titles, and builds no magnificent palaces for the exclusive possession of the few. It is a blessing for all, or it is no blessing. Its sole advantage consists in its permitting all to pursue their own good, their own happiness; and if they do not pursue it, of what avail is the boasted gift? It is quite enough our boast; let it be more our blessing. If it is only a boast, it will cease in any valuable sense to exist. We are free

from political oppression ; and yet it may be that we are in bondage to the fear or hatred or envy of one another, in bondage to ambition, to revenge, or to avarice. We live in a land of freedom ; but how many are slaves to sensuality, slaves to wicked companions, slaves to negligently accumulated debt. Here are no walls, indeed, raised by tyranny to hide its victims from the day, no prison vaults to be the graves of the living, no dungeons, from which the cry of suffering innocence can never be heard. But vice has its victims, who are shut out from the light of day, from the respect of society ; vice has its lone dungeons, in which not the innocent are chained down, but in which innocence itself is lost ; its grave for the living, for whom it were better if they were dead.

And if these things go on, and proceed from one step to another, from bad maxims to worse indulgences, then will that liberty, which, to such, exists only in form and is no longer a blessing,—then will it be to the country no longer a blessing, and ere long, it will cease to exist even in form. Let the tide of luxury and immorality rise higher and higher, let the barriers of public virtue be broken down, let the good old disinterestedness, and the generous patriotism of our fathers, give way to universal selfishness, political corruption, and base office-seeking ; let mighty parties arise, which are grounded on no other principle than the love of office, or let parties arise and grow upon sectional disputes and jealousies, and this very generation may not pass away till all these things which we fear, are accomplished ; yes, we who read these things with whatever indifference or incredulity, may find that the language of warning was the language of prophecy, that the language of warning has become the language of history.

We do not expect that the possibility of this catastrophe will now be regarded with any serious apprehension. And yet we do none the less fear because of this security, but the more. No people, in calm times and a settled order of things, ever looked for their downfall. Immorality gains slowly and imperceptibly upon a people. The signs of the coming tempest steal silently over the heavens. The change passes so gradually that men do not see it. So it has been with every people ; and when the catastrophe has come, it has come in flood and storm and thunder.

We hear much of the *spirit of this age* ; but it seems more an object to dwell with exultation on the tendencies of the

public mind at this day, than to point out the *duties of the age*. We believe, indeed, that the present epoch promises more than any former period in the long continued experiment upon human nature, because Christianity is in the field, more free and unfettered than it ever was before ; because knowledge is in the field ; because ' the schoolmaster,' as has been said with a pertinence and emphasis that have converted the saying into a proverb, because ' the schoolmaster is abroad,' upon the field of this great trial ; and if men can become free, wise, and religious, it may be hoped that they will become so now.

But to conduct this experiment to a successful issue, will require exertions—yes, and qualities, on the part of its friends, which they can never too highly appreciate. And we cannot leave the subject without offering two or three remarks, in a broad view, to all who have the real improvement of the world at heart, on what we think ought to be the spirit of these times.

A wakeful heed and foresight are first of all demanded of the age ; a consciousness of the part which this generation has to act, a solemn impression of our duties to future times. This should be no theme merely for fancy to embellish, or for rhetoric to adorn. It should be a great and impressive conviction. The men who are to take part in the work of bringing this momentous trial to a happy result, and every man may do something, must feel that patriots, prophets, and confessors had never a greater. They must not sleep upon their post. They must be awake and on the alert, and watch the signs of the times. This is no affair of political management, of commercial monopoly, of relief to the manufacturing interests, of internal improvements, of national administration, save as all these bear upon the great end. These are ' signs of the sky and the earth ' in comparison. No ; but the great question is, whether the people of this country, and of England and of France and Germany and Russia, shall be wiser, more virtuous, religious, and happy races of men, fifty years hence, than they now are. It is not whether general wealth and luxury shall advance ; they will advance,—but whether governments shall become more just, mild, and paternal, whether schools and universities shall be more effective instruments for training the mind ; whether cities shall be purified from their iniquities and vices, and families shall be well ordered, virtuous, pious, and happy ; whether churches shall become purer, and knowledge shall increase, and righteousness shall exalt the nations. And to this

question, we repeat, all men and minds, and books written at this day, and journals and associations and communities, should be awake.

In the next place, we would entreat all the advocates of this cause, to be sober; to think and speak and write and act with perfect sobriety. We want no Utopian schemes in aid of this cause. All visionary theories, fanciful speculations about perfectibility, extravagant measures, violent innovations, propositions without evidence, and proposals without reasonableness, and zeal without knowledge, and faith without works, must retire from this cause and let it alone. This, at least, must be the theory of the age; and we must come as near it as possible. In truth we want sober men. And we would that men would use all their trusts and privileges with more sobriety; that they would enter into school committees, political offices, and the learned professions, and into all the courses of trade and business, with a more thoughtful consideration of the part they are acting in relation to the moral welfare of mankind. We could easily show that the very transaction of business is a weighty trust in this respect; and that at this very moment, the eagerness for gain, hazardous speculation, pecuniary embarrassment—yes, that debt all over this country, threatens more moral evil to the next generation, than any other cause that can be named. The men of business as well as men of study, actors as well as authors, on this present stage, men with families, with children looking to them for education, with trusts of every nature, must be sober; must be sober, as feeling that the next age will depend upon what they think, and do, and are.

We do not know what is to be the state of things in this land and in Christendom fifty years hence; but we know that if men go on heedlessly, if all pursue their own immediate and selfish ends, without regard to the general good and the coming result, if none take thought for the signs of the times, that the experiment will be involved in infinite peril. We know that if political elections, and judicial proceedings, and the principles of trade, become thoroughly selfish and corrupt, if good institutions decline, if the sabbath is trodden under foot, and public worship is neglected, and there is no concert or cooperation for good and holy ends—we know that the hope, we had almost said, the last hope of the world, will be whelmed in ‘the tide of human passions, competitions, and vices.’

Once more, we urge as becoming this age, a spirit of mingled firmness and forbearance; firmness, we say, to go on in the work of general improvement, without fear or faltering; to meet difficulty and opposition, to go through evil report and good report, looking for a support and a reward beyond this world; but yet more we say, of forbearance, for this will be the virtue more needed, or at least more tried. Our thoughts in this connexion are naturally led to religious difficulties, as those which more immediately press upon ourselves.

It is true, indeed, that all classes and sects of good men, are, more or less directly, helping on this cause; and it is unfortunate that they cannot see it. We do not know of a religious sect, for instance, in this country, which is not, in our apprehension, doing and intending to do great good. But they do not accredit the motives of each other to this extent; they fall out by the way, and therefore they have great need of forbearance.

This great cause, it seems, must go on with a controversy. And in this mighty march of improvement, the liberal party in this country and in England, occupy, what our adversaries to be sure will not allow to be any place at all, but what, taking only an equal liberty, we must be allowed to say, is the place of the vanguard. And occupying this place, they are liable to be wounded by the very arrows which are launched out against the common enemy. On this little band, therefore, is it necessary to urge, more than upon all others, the duty of firm and patient forbearance. On them, then, be it enjoined, to set before the world a new example of the spirit of controversy that becomes Christians. We trust that they are coming to it. We trust that we discern a good spirit arising among them. Publications, in which their adversaries can see nothing but weak and impolitic confessions, signs of disbanding and of retiring from the controversy, we regard as evidences that the noble spirit of freedom, of truth and love, is triumphing over the spirit of party and angry controversy and strife. Let them go on. We think they have done well; let them do better. Let them take example from a Hindoo Reformer, who disputes with a candor and meekness that does not take offence, and cannot understand it. Let us forsake the sad and stale resorts of old controversy, and show the zeal of the first Reformation, without its bitterness. In truth, Luther and his

coadjutors and opposers, must not be our examples. Let that zeal for truth and for the world's good possess us, which knows not anger, and cannot be narrowed down to petty disputes.

It is better, we were ready to say, to defend a bad cause with a good spirit, than to defend a good cause with a bad spirit. But what do we say? The good spirit is the good cause. If, in the conflicts of ~~the world~~, we become truly liberal-minded and generous; if we become ~~more~~ humble, and meek, and patient; if with every controversy we draw nearer and nearer to the God of love, to the spirit of all grace and peace; then, then indeed do we triumph; then do we gain the best of conquests, a victory over ourselves. God evermore grant us such victories!

M. B. C. Peabody.

ART. II.—*Life of Archbishop Cranmer.* By J. A. SARGANT.
London. Hurst, Chance, & Co. 1829. 12mo. pp. 288.

THE powerful minds now employed upon the English history, with one exception, have hardly the grace to pretend to impartiality. Their whole object is, to point out the history of their own party through the faint registry of ages past; to find the traces of party principles, or precedents for party measures, without caring how much history is perverted from its great purpose of moral instruction. This profound sympathy with the events and characters of a thousand years ago, is a curious feature of the English character. The friends of constitutional freedom, are enraptured with every vestige they can discover in history, of resistance to arbitrary power; and their adversaries can see no merit in those who ever wished to limit the prerogative. Thus the accumulated passions of ages are brought to bear on almost every public question. The Catholic question, for example, was lately debated by one party, as if Rome was in the fulness of its power, and no change had taken place in the last two hundred years. They considered it an act of supernatural courage to move the rotten bar, while to other nations it seemed like the decision of an abstract proposition, a mere acknowledgment of a truth which time had settled long ago; and the prime minister, like one who unbars

the windows at noon, to let in the light that had long been shining on the rest of the world.

We are glad that the triumph of the historians of freedom is likely to be so complete, and that Hume, though he cannot be put down till a rival appears, is likely to be balanced by authorities powerful and high; but we are not blind to the fact that these new historical stars are acted upon by the disturbing force of party feeling. With all our love of liberty, we cannot join them in their celebrations of English freedom, in the times of the ancient sovereigns; those of Henry VIII., for instance, when parliaments were employed in registering the adulteries and murders of that low minded ruffian; or those of Elizabeth, when old Peter Wentworth could not lift up his solitary voice, without a visit to the Star Chamber and the Tower; and when the indifference with which the monarch listened to any bold complaint, showed how firm were the foundations on which her authority stood. Nor is their judgment of character to pass unchallenged. We believe with them, that Charles I. was insincere, and the cause of the parliament was just; but we do not believe that they were any more scrupulous than their royal master. We believe that Cromwell, compared with some other usurpers, was manly and honorable; but we do not look upon his accession as a triumph of freedom, nor do we consider him a meek and holy man forced into absolute power. We believe that the dealing of Charles II. with France, was a base transaction; but we are not disposed to excuse Sidney for the same corruption, by saying that it was the fashion of the day. There is no doubt in our minds that James II. intended to overthrow the liberty of his people; but this does not clear the 'glorious and immortal memory' of William from the stain of Glencoe. We do not consider the good cause of freedom as casting an inviolable glory, on all, who, for various reasons, supported it, nor are we willing to charge that sacred cause with the errors and crimes of its defenders. We consider the liberty of the people as making part of the great reformation which was then beginning in the world. The invention of printing enabled them to read their rights and duties; the compass enabled science to spread the light from nation to nation, and it was but a natural result, that the corruptions in science, government, and religion, should be thrown open to the day, and attempts be made to reform them.

We say this because the Reformation makes part of the civil history of Great Britain ; and all our histories of that event are more or less obscured by party feelings and passions. On the continent, a great reformation in religion was going on. Men were setting themselves free from the restraints of old oppression. The human mind was rising, and lifting off the burden which had rested upon it for ages. There were men of noble resolution, like Luther and his coadjutors, to take the lead in the conflict ; and considering the vast interests engaged on both sides, and the sternness of spirit which such times require, there is not much in the conduct of the Reformers to dishonor that great victory of the human mind. But the Reformation in England was conducted in a different spirit, and by less worthy hands. Undoubtedly the way for it was prepared by the growing light of the world ; but it was immediately the result of vulgar passion. There is no name, excepting that of Wickliffe, a century before, entitled to unqualified praise. He was indeed a great and self-sacrificing reformer ; but, had he lived in what is called the English Reformation, he would certainly have received the honors of martyrdom from the hands of Henry. This event, inglorious as it was, resulted no doubt in good ; but it was only as the wrath of man is always made to work out the great purposes of God.

We can better understand the character of the agents in the transaction, if we consider what changes actually took place at the time of the English Reformation. The most direct effect was to destroy the religious establishments. It is commonly understood, that all their aisles and cloisters were floating with corruption ; but we are inclined to believe that their corruption was as much overrated as their treasures, and who doubts, that, but for those treasures, they might have stood in all their iniquity till time had eaten their walls to the foundation ? We do not suppose that they were nurseries of virtue or devotion ; but we believe that the morality of monasteries was at least as good as that of courts and camps in that day. They were, too, a useful restraint on the violence of the military. They were retreats, where the little learning there was in those times, found a home. They were a refuge for the defenceless, their gates were seldom shut against the wayfaring or the poor, and bad as they were, they were better than the military barbarism to which they set bounds. The avarice of the king was encouraged to confiscate their treasures, by the

hope of the people to relieve themselves from future exactions. But, unless the time had come for the scriptures to circulate among the people by means of the newly invented press, unless the minds of men had been prepared for more enlightened representations of religion, we believe their destruction would have been an evil rather than a blessing. For religion, even in that form, carried some consoling and reviving influences with it; perverted as it was, it was better than none at all.

But what was the reformation in religious faith? Was the power of the Pope disowned and dishonored? So far from asserting that his authority was contrary to reason and scripture, it was not resisted till the Pope, after the dictate of common sense and scripture, refused to annul the marriage of Henry with his injured queen. And then, by way of preventing future abuses, the royal reformer transferred the whole authority of Rome to his own person, and Sir Thomas More's, the best head in England, fell on the scaffold for opposing this usurpation. The opinions of the old religion remained for a long time unchanged. The doctrine of the real presence, of all the Catholic tenets the most absurd and revolting, was the last to be abandoned. But we need say the less on this point, since many of the Catholic opinions, among others the 'doctrines of grace,' whose sweet influences we are not unacquainted with in New England, retain much of their power at the present day. The truth seems to have been, that the king's oppressive acts against the Catholics, evidently dictated by avarice and passion, and supported for similar reasons by his courtiers, created a natural prejudice in favor of the weaker party in more intelligent minds, and made them adhere to opinions, which, could they have examined them impartially, they would have been foremost to cast away.

But was there any change for the better in free inquiry? Free inquiry became more common, because the minds of men were gaining light and strength. But, though the change was effected without disturbance, toleration was no better understood than before. There was even less freedom than in the time of Wickliffe. The moment the Protestants gained the upper hand, they became the oppressors; and the whole power of the state, like a ship taken from a hostile fleet, with its name and colors changed and its guns turned on its former owners, was sent into the strife again. Crowns of martyrdom were distributed with princely liberality by

'England's merry king.' His gentle soul was overpersuaded by hoary counsellors, to lengthen the red list of murder, and the faithful chronicler, Stow, gives us the names of those who perished in the reign of the virgin queen. We do not complain that the English glory, in what seems to us to bear strong resemblance to their shame, the time when lords and commons, master and slave, submitted to the childish weakness or savage passion of a woman. But when they pour out unsparing condemnation on the intolerant cruelty of Mary, and praise Elizabeth to the skies, we feel bound to say that blood flowed almost as fast in one reign as the other, and that while it does not appear as if Elizabeth really believed the faith for which she persecuted, Mary had at least the excuse of a horrible sincerity in her crimes. We know that heretics suffered in the time of Elizabeth, not as heretics, but as enemies to the state; a fact, which, properly explained to them, must have afforded much comfort in their dying hours, but cannot remove the reproach from the power which condemned them to die.

The English Reformation, then, was not the glorious event it is sometimes represented. Nor was it a distinguished part of that real reformation, which was then taking place in the world; which could not fail to take place when the treasures of ancient learning were drawn out from their caverns, when commerce enlarged the acquaintance of men with each other, and the press began to put the scriptures into every man's hand. Neither were there at that day any in England, who, like Erasmus, materially aided in producing these changes; at least in such a disinterested manner as to entitle them to the gratitude of future times. The cause of human improvement would have gone on without them; nor are we fond of attributing much to the exertions of any individuals, for to us it seems that the high spirit of Luther only hastened an event for which deep and powerful causes had been preparing. The Roman authority was sinking beneath its double weight of splendor and corruption. The multitude were beginning to learn the secret of their strength, and the world must have risen in its might when the fulness of time was come. It seems matter of regret, that force should have been resorted to; for hence it is that, in putting down spiritual dominion, a military spell, equally inconsistent with Christianity, is left in all its power, and now seems to demand a second reformation, almost as great and thorough as the first.

We have made these remarks in reference to the book before us. It is, as may be supposed, a flattering view of the great apostle of the English Reformation. It is not entitled to notice as a work of talent. There is no attempt at discrimination in drawing the character of Cranmer. The writer's whole object is to recommend him as a great and irreproachable example. Now it is precisely in this character that he is least to be recommended. He was a man of ability, and in many respects attractive and amiable in his character. But the great name of reformer, implies a forgetfulness of self, a manly courage, a generous self-devotion to the interests of his race, a moral sensibility quick and delicate, and a principle of duty stern and high; in all which, Cranmer, weighed in the balances, was found wanting. True, he was the leader of the English Reformation. But if our views of that event be correct, it was a political revolution, hardly coincident in time, assuredly not in character, with the great reformation in learning and religion which was then opening the eyes of the world.

Cranmer makes his first appearance on the stage, at the time when Henry VIII., after having been twenty years married to his brother's widow, begins to have doubts respecting the legality of such a marriage; doubts not a little encouraged, and, we have no doubt, first suggested, by a passion for another. Public opinion has long ago given its impartial verdict on this point; and, till we read this writer, we supposed there could be no question of the open baseness of the whole transaction. Shakspeare, with all his desire to conciliate Elizabeth, finds nature and truth too strong for him; and, as Johnson remarks, the interest of the play comes and departs with the injured queen.

While Henry is still in suspense, on account of the Pope's refusal, for good or bad reasons, to give his sanction to the divorce, he is relieved from his perplexity by Cranmer. The object, of course, was not to satisfy himself, but to offer some decent excuse to the world, and the plan suggested by the reformer was no mean proof of his worldly wisdom. He proposed to submit the naked question to the universities of Europe, whether a man might lawfully marry his deceased brother's wife, which he knew well enough was not the question at issue. The real question was, whether, on account of a new and unlawful passion, a faithful wife should be infamously discarded after a union of twenty years. The former he knew

they would decide according to the Levitical law, without regard to common sense or feeling. But we believe no universality in existence, out of England, would have rendered judgment in the king's favor, with the circumstances before them. The manner in which he was obliged to proceed, so unlike his usual violence, is proof enough that the feeling of that age was the same with ours; the feeling of nature, which councils and churches cannot alter, nor tyrants quite suppress.

The author of this *Life*, undertakes to justify the part taken by Cranmer on this occasion, and actually talks himself into the conviction, that his conduct was not only justifiable but praiseworthy. He even thinks that the king's doubts were sincere, and at any rate, that it was not for Cranmer to question his sovereign's word. We will not insult our readers by answering these sage reasonings, for on this subject there can be but one opinion. When the counsellor is rewarded with the mitre of Canterbury, no one doubts that it was gained with some expense of conscience and character, and was dearly, if not honorably earned. But if it were not so, he had an opportunity of redeeming himself from the reproach a short time after, when the king was married to Anne Boleyn, in January, though the sentence of divorce from Catharine, was not pronounced till May. Here he might have acted the part of Nathan to David. Here, the man mighty in the scriptures, might at least have said, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' or he might have retired from a court so profligate and dishonored. But we cannot learn that a whisper of disapprobation, from first to last, proceeded from the archiepiscopal throne, while the streets of London rung with condemnation. It is commonly believed, on Lord Herbert's authority, that Cranmer was present at the ceremony; and his biographer admits it, without seeming to perceive how disgraceful such attendance would have been. But among Mr Ellis's original letters, we find one from the Archbishop himself, in which he positively denies it, and no one can doubt, with truth; for sometimes a wound upon the conscience is less dreaded than a stain upon the lawn.

Cranmer was, as we have said, rewarded with the see of Canterbury, and his conduct in respect to this appointment is another reproach upon his name. He had sense enough to know that the claims of the Roman government were unfounded; and knowing this, he must have seen that the same power could not be placed in other hands. If we may trust his biog-

rapher, he encouraged Henry to assume the supremacy in spiritual matters, though, after the affair of the divorce, he could not be ignorant for what purpose it was wanted, nor how it was likely to be abused. His whole conduct is of a piece with this. Professing that he could not conscientiously acknowledge the Pope's authority, he accepted the appointment from his hands. Though he could not conscientiously take the oath of consecration, nevertheless take it he did, making at the same time a protest, which amounted to a recantation at the same place and hour. The worthy biographer is a little troubled by this proceeding of the reformer, which certainly savours of the practices once attributed to Rome; but he escapes from his difficulty in a way which would not have occurred to ordinary minds. Considering the great benefits likely to result from the appointment, he thinks it allowable to stretch the conscience a little; and moreover he says, the prevarication was not so bad as was often resorted to by Cranmer's opposers. We have no doubt that he has hit upon the very reasoning which wrought upon the mind of the reformer himself. He saw a great advantage likely to result to himself and the public, which he would not forego for a trifle; and perhaps the Reformation was the more popular from this public manifesto, which showed that those who renounced the authority of Rome, need not give up the immunities and exemptions, which that power offered to those who wished to reconcile their interest with their duty.

What kind of logic was used on these occasions, we learn from a remark of Cranmer to Sir Thomas More. When that distinguished man was sentenced to death for denying the king's supremacy, Cranmer, who knew his excellence and value, made some attempt to save him; not, however, by influencing the mind of the king, but by trying to induce the prisoner to abandon his convictions. Sir Thomas More confessed to Cranmer that he had some doubts as to the Pope's authority; to which the prelate replied;—'You doubt the extent of your obligation to the Pope; you have no doubt that you are bound to obey the king; let the doubtful give way to the certain.' But the philosopher was not convinced. He saw it was begging the question. The very thing to be decided, was, how far he must carry his obedience to the king. Nothing in English history surpasses the firmness of More and Fisher, the latter of whom had opposed the king's divorce, and now stood out against his spiritual usurpation. Historians condemn their cause while

they praise their self-devotion. But the cause was a good one ; for the question was, not whether the Roman power should be put down, but whether it should be translated without limitation or abatement into the hands of an oppressor, whose authority was already far too great for the honor and happiness of his people. Believing as they did, they acted nobly. They were unhonored martyrs to their duty and their God.

The precedent of the king's divorce and marriage was one too much to his taste not to be followed. Accordingly, in three years, Anne, who had the folly, to call it by no harsher name, to marry the husband of another, was compelled in turn to submit to a heavier doom. It is not to be supposed that Cranmer could look without self-reproach on the royal villany of which he had been made the tool, nor could the youth and loveliness of the victim fail to move his heart, which was naturally kind. Besides, his own character was concerned, and he foresaw, as it accordingly happened, that he should soon be obliged to wrong his conscience again. He therefore interceded with his master ; but the remonstrance must have been a gentle one, for it did not move Henry to passion. His intercession was disregarded ; and what steps were taken by his Grace ? Did he retreat from his post of dishonor ? Did he declare to his sovereign and the world, that he would no longer be made the instrument of crime ? He did no such thing. He still considered, as his biographer has it, the great public advantage there was in his keeping his station, and he did not strain at the camel in his generous regard to party. Therefore, when Anne admitted that before her marriage she had been engaged to the Duke of Northumberland, ' the sorrowing primate pronounced the sentence of divorce,'—sorrowing, no doubt, that his interest required him to give a judgment so shameless ; a judgment which made him the servant of adultery and murder ; which destroyed a lovely woman, and disinherited and dishonored her child ; and sorrowing most of all, at the prospect that his unquestionable duty to his king, would compel him to break every law of God. His biographer, confident as he is of the merit of his subject, feels as if some slight apology was needed here. ' To have served the queen in the public manner which some affirm to be necessary to the honor of his character, was impossible.' And why ? ' Because during the trial he was forbidden to leave his house.' But there are some, who, though no reformers, would have found it possible to make themselves

heard, and who would have left their house on such an occasion, though their next step had been to the 'house appointed for all the living.'—Great is the exultation with which the author parades a circumstance, which, in his opinion, shows that courtly compliance was not one of the faults of Cranmer. It seems that some one applied to Cromwel for a dispensation permitting him to marry his neice; but Cranmer, when he heard of it, was moved with a righteous indignation, and refused to comply. It is not pretended that anything was to be gained by consenting, or hazarded by refusing; and no one believes that in such cases the primate would swerve from his duty, so that there is really no call for the author's triumphant acclamations. It is however only a show of confidence. Though he will not admit that anything was wrong, he is not quite satisfied, and closes, with a tone of pious resignation, in the words; 'Perfection belongs to no man. There is none that doeth good—no, not one.' In fact there was something deplorably wrong.

We are aware that there was another pretext for Anne's divorce, founded on the king's previous intimacy with her sister; but whether this alters the case, our readers can decide. These statements admit no contradiction, and we are wholly at a loss to know, how he can be justified in a proceeding so unworthy of his character and station. The matter was doubtless generally regarded in that day as it is in ours; and those who dared to speak their sentiments, declared as much, in language more expressive than we should care to repeat; witness Peyto, who charged the king to his face, with the wrongs done to the innocent; and his fellow friar, Elston, who proclaimed in public, that the king was guilty of adultery, and when threatened with drowning, stoutly replied, that he could go to heaven by water as well as by land. Cranmer was bound to bear witness against these offences; and if too timid to open his mouth in presence of the king, he had no business in his exalted station. He was bound to resign it to some one who cared less for his safety than his duty, and since he thought not proper either to discharge the obligations or give up the honors of office, there can be but one sentiment respecting his conduct in every impartial breast.

It is difficult now to ascertain how far Cranmer carried his compliance with the humor of his royal master. There were times when he opposed Henry's wishes; once in the law enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, which obliged him to send

away his own wife, and again in the disposal of the property plundered from the monasteries, which Cranmer wished to appropriate to the support of religion. But his opposition, however sincere, was unavailing; and since Henry was not incensed by it, we cannot believe that it was very hearty, for there does not appear to have been a solitary instance of this king's encountering resistance, without fierce resentment against his opposers. It is doubted whether Cranmer believed the doctrine of the real presence, which he renounced in the succeeding reign, or only maintained it, even to the blood of those who questioned it, through fear of Henry. Indeed it does seem as if this would be the point which reformers would first reject in reforming the old religion. But it will not do to reason from our own conclusions to theirs; for we find the Lutherans and other reformers on the continent, maintaining the same opinion. We see no reason, then, to doubt that he really believed this doctrine in the time of Henry, and perhaps it was natural that the most irrational doctrine of the ancient faith, should have been like the weakest child of the affections, most fondly loved and unwillingly surrendered.

The next thing which bears hard on the character of Cranmer, is the intolerance displayed by him in some instances of persecution. But before we fix the measure of this reproach, we must remember that intolerance was the order of the day. It is a stain from which hardly one great name is free. Even Sir Thomas More, in other respects so enlightened, seems to have caught the universal spirit in this; and so far as we may judge from the conduct of the different parties, it seems to have been thought, not a generous indeed, but still a fair and natural use of power. The complaints of the infamous cruelties of Mary's reign have been growing louder and louder from that time to the present. But then, the principal cause of censure seems to have been the number of her victims. The reformers themselves could hardly object to the principle which they had recommended by their own example. Difference of religious opinion seems to have been regarded, by common consent, as a crime worthy of death, and it was for the party in power to determine to whom this notable rule of justice should be applied. Even Mary, whose name has been a by-word for so many generations, is entitled to the full benefit of this explanation. She acted after the manner of the times; a convenient example for those whose tempers inclined them

to severity, and a temptation to all who wished to indulge revengeful passions, under the name of conscience and religion.

In the case of Joan Bocher, however, Cranmer has deprived himself of the benefit of this excuse, by going beyond his day. This woman had preached Unitarianism, as it was called, though her sentiments are not stated with much precision. Her own account of them was, 'that Christ did not take flesh of the outward man of the Virgin, because the outward man was conceived in sin; but by the consent of the inward man which was undefiled.' If this does not explain the matter, we know not what will. For this alarming doctrine, thus luminously expounded, she was brought before the inquisition in which Cranmer presided, and there persevering in her heresy, she was condemned to die. Our author praises the humanity of the reformer for his attempt to make her renounce her opinion; a sort of tender mercy which was afterwards imitated by the Catholics in their treatment of him. But an unexpected obstacle arose in the resistance of the young king Edward, whose gentle nature revolted at the thought of such a punishment for such a crime, but who, not daring to question the justice of her sentence, disguised his horror under the plea of unwillingness to send her to eternal punishment in another world. Unfortunately, the noble boy of eleven, proved no match for the veteran reformer of sixty, who combatted his objections with theological arguments, to which he could oppose nothing but the feelings of nature. He signed the warrant at last, with tears in his eyes. Little did the prelate think, in the midst of his conscientious exultation, that he was filing a bloody precedent, to which his enemies, at some future time, might triumphantly refer as a warrant for his own awful doom.

But while we allow this justification of such deeds derived from the practice of that day, as far as it may reasonably go, we must say that it makes a material difference in our sympathy with the persecutors, when they in turn become the victims. To know that Rogers publicly approved the burning of Joan, would shock even the infants who have wept for him and his ten children; and though we cannot help feeling for Cranmer in the hours of his mortal agony, we know that he was a martyr to his own fatal example, as well as to the truth. When historians demand our sympathy for the suffering reformers, we cannot withhold it; but when they throw similar deeds of the reformers into shadow, and hold up those of the Catholics

to reprobation, we are compelled to say that they shared the guilt in nearly equal proportions. We feel, too, as if they of the purer faith might have shown themselves more merciful. We regret that their cruelties should have dishonored the cause of truth; and most deeply do we lament, that, instead of guiding the community to a better feeling, they needed themselves to be restrained and bounded by the general feeling of the people, whom they were leading in a necessary and just reform.

Again; Cranmer is implicated in the daring plot for changing the succession, under the pretence of saving the Protestant faith, but really to place the power in the hands of Northumberland. The right of Mary was unquestionable. It was secured by act of parliament and by Henry's will, besides that in those days of divine right, she was by birth the legitimate heir to the throne. The plan of Northumberland was, to set her claims aside, on the pretext that the act of parliament which excluded her, had never been repealed, and to place the crown on the head of Jane Gray, granddaughter of a younger sister of Henry, hoping that by the marriage of Jane to his son, he might himself be sovereign in everything but the name. Had his plan succeeded, he would certainly have governed with royal power; for the Lady Jane, though mature beyond her years, was a girl of sixteen, unacquainted with her claims and averse to such honors, and his son was young and entirely under his control. The youthful king was easily brought, by religious considerations, to take an interest in this plan, and he made a will excluding Mary and Elizabeth from the succession, and entailing the crown on the descendants of his aunt, the queen of France.

It will be remembered that Edward was in a manner under the guardianship of Cranmer, who was one of the executors of his father's will. In religious matters especially, it was the primate's duty to guard him from undue influence, and both as a friend and counsellor, to take the most decided stand against any measure which he knew to be unjust. That he did regard this exclusion of Mary as oppressive and unjust, he has himself declared. He tells us that for a long time he refused his consent; and at last was prevailed upon to act against his conscience by the entreaties of the king. By thus assuring us how strong were his convictions of Mary's right, he has testified against himself, that, with his eyes open, he was guilty of

treason to the state and unfaithfulness to the king, to whom at all hazards, he should have pointed out the path of duty. The excuses made for him let us into the secrets of his character. It seems that he required a private interview, because the presence of Northumberland prevented his speaking freely; and as this was not granted, there is no evidence that he made any attempt, beyond a statement of his own scruples, to shake the determination of the king. Our author, on the authority of his own imagination, tells us that Cranmer refused to consent, till he had consulted the judges, who gave their opinion that he might consistently take the oath required. This would have made no difference whatever. But it is well known that the judges were convinced that the proceeding was illegal, and would not acquiesce till they were overawed by all the power of the council and the king. Still the undaunted biographer, while he allows that Cranmer was 'amenable to censure,' thinks that admiration must preponderate in our view of his part in this transaction. But we confess, that we are inclined to transfer our share of the admiration to his biographer, who has succeeded in persuading himself that his hero was innocent, in the face of his own acknowledgment that he was guilty. Furthermore, he insists that whatever blame there might have been in the transaction, was effaced by his subsequent contrition. But it happens that the proof of this contrition is found in his letter to Mary, written with the express purpose of deprecating her displeasure. We have no doubt that he was penitent enough, when the plan had failed, when the crown had fallen from the head of the lovely usurper, and it only remained for the season of vengeance to succeed. We doubt not that a similar chill ran through the breasts of all the partners in this deed; for they had added fire to the wrath of a princess, which burned fiercely enough before. They had afforded ample grounds for a charge of treason. By their dangerous enterprise they had made Mary popular in the state, and given her a pretext for resisting the Protestant religion. Cranmer, above all the rest, had been the main instrument in that transaction which broke the heart of her injured mother, and brought reproach on her own birth. He had been the most earnest opposer of that faith which she as earnestly maintained. By his last act, he had shown himself willing to strip her of her birthright, and to make her an exile in the midst of that land which she was born to govern. In a condition like

that in which the primate stood, it may well be supposed, that his was a sort of deathbed repentance, with less remorse in it than despair.

Cranmer seems to have felt that he had nothing to hope for from the magnanimity or mercy of the queen. These were qualities in which none of the Tudors abounded. Mary and Elizabeth were equally deficient in these estimable virtues, which, if history speaks truth, are not apt to find their most familiar dwelling in royal breasts. It must be owned, that he had given provocation enough to incense one more generous than Mary; but she was contented with ordering him to confine himself to his palace, and did not then threaten anything severer. Still he was fully aware of the manner in which all parties follow up their victories, and it seems evident from his subsequent conduct, that he had wrought himself up to uncommon resolution, by reflecting perhaps on the magnitude of the cause of which he was counted the pillar, and considering what lofty firmness would naturally be expected from the head of a reforming party. While in this state of uncertainty, he heard that mass had been performed in his church at Canterbury, and that he himself had consented to celebrate the Catholic service in presence of the queen. He immediately came out with a denial and a public declaration of hostility to the Catholic religion, stating that the mass was full of horrible blasphemies and invented by the father of lies. This paper was remarkable for its boldness, and gave so much offence that he was sent for by the council, arraigned for treason and sedition, and committed to the Tower, a prison whose threshold was little worn by returning feet.

Far are we from justifying these abominations, but we must distribute our condemnation with impartiality. Can there be a doubt, that if any one in the preceding reigns, had thrown contempt on the prevailing faith, he would have been treated with equal harshness, or that Cranmer would have consented to his doom? Such doubts are answered by the fate of Lambert, Bocher, Paris, and others more than one. We see no right that one party had to persecute more than another, nor any justification to be made for one, in which the other may not share.

The courage of the prelate did not hold out to the last. His spirit, perhaps, was broken by imprisonment, and by witnessing the death of his associates, whom he expected to follow

soon. The Catholic party were anxious to gain so distinguished a convert, or at least to make him faithless to his own opinions. They endeavoured to wear him out by disputation, and flattered him with a hope that he might save his life and honors by renouncing his opinions. Believing that the same favor would be extended to him as to others, he fully abjured his Protestant faith, and, in several instruments, professed his acquiescence in that religion he had so long opposed. He even applied for a reprieve long enough to show that he had sincerely repented, and to remove the scandal which his heretical life had given. But the infamous council, though they knew that his confessions were dictated by that hope which they had themselves encouraged, refused him the privilege they had offered to Ridley and Latimer, and decreed that nothing should save him.

The wretched man then awoke to a full sense of his dishonor. The ears of Protestant England were stunned with the intelligence that the great apostle of reform had denied the faith. Their eyes were bent reproachfully upon him. They trusted that he would have defied the crown, and borne a testimony in his last hours, which all Europe would have heard. Perhaps it was his consciousness of the general shame and indignation, which restored courage to his heart. He resolved to take the opportunity, which the last hour afforded him, to redeem the honor of his name. A paper was prepared for him to read at the stake, that the spectators might be edified by his confession of weakness; and Catholic historians are malecontent that he should have deceived his tormentors in a matter which they had so much at heart. We cannot join in their censure. We think he was in no wise bound to warn them of his purpose. It would have been the very foolishness of sincerity to have thrown away the last chance of doing justice to his Protestant opinions. It was with no little dismay, that they heard him recall his recantations, one by one, declaring that nothing but the hope of life had wrung them from him. He then held the hand which had written them in the flames till it was consumed, and thus did all that a dying man could do, to remove the reproach of his former weakness. But though the Protestants maintain that the guilt of his apostasy was done away by this act, it is but too evident that he would have clung to life, if submission could have saved him; that he did not resume his fidelity till hope was all gone, and that his courage was borrowed less from religion than despair.

It will be readily inferred from what we have said, that we are no admirers of Cranmer, and we believe that his reputation rests upon party feeling. Still, the reverence for his name is so universal, that we have thought it necessary to dwell principally on the more questionable parts of his character. It would be unjust to deny that there are indications of great kindness in his temper, and occasional generosity in his feelings. He was happy in the affection of his friends, and the attachment of a large and powerful party. But we think we have shown, that, as a public man, he was wanting to his own character and duty; that he sanctioned, and even took part in transactions, which he was bound to condemn without measure, and suffered his attachment to his sovereign and his party to make him unfaithful at times to his country and his God. His errors seem to have been often sins of weakness. He was timid and irresolute, and not the less so for the boldness which he showed, when he was driven to despair. He was easily swayed by gratitude, we fear we must add by interest also, beyond the strict bounds of moral obligation. The truth seems to have been that he was fitted for private life, where the dangers, trials, and temptations were less, and evil was the hour in which he left it to aid in a Reformation which could have gone on as well without him. From that hour, he seems to have drifted upon the stormy tides of party, and to have maintained his ascendant, not by pressing gallantly forward to a certain harbour, but by changing his course as the wind might happen to blow. That he was instrumental in advancing a great religious reform, will not entitle him to the great name of reformer. He did not, like Luther, go out to strive against old abuses with a towering self-devotion. He was not ready to sacrifice everything to the great cause of truth. He did not speak with a voice of deep and burning conviction, which must and would be heard. He was not found to defend his cause, with all the world against him, nor did he master the fear of death, till he found that no submission could save him from the revenge of those who were thirsting for his blood.

The time is come to read history impartially; and such books as this, which, from whatever reasons, attempt to sustain a character which cannot stand by its own merits, will meet the fate they deserve, even though executed by much abler hands. They should have appeared a century ago, when, though an immense majority was on the Protestant side, and no Catholic

felt secure of life, the nation trembled at the very name of Rome, and by their severity against the Catholics created the alarms which disturbed them. Then, such works as these might have seemed acceptable offerings to religion. But now, when the laws injurious to Catholics are universally pronounced absurd by all but a jealous party, when the slow leave with which England lets them go has made her the wonder of the civilized world, it is of no service to any cause to represent the English reformers as irreproachable, in the face of history, and to speak of the Pope as if he were still in all his glory, with the nations at his feet. Every one knows, that Catholics as well as Protestants are changed; that Catholics no more maintain the principles of three hundred years ago, than Protestants believe the real presence as in the times of Henry. In fact, all sects are assimilating, not by any effort of charity, but by the natural effect of time. The Calvinist, instead of election, talks of the unconditional freeness of the gospel. The Methodist leaves his unpainted chapel, and must have his learned preacher with his spire and bell. Even the Shaker substitutes a grave walk for his rigadoon. No sect, however unsocial and exclusive, can possibly remain uninfluenced by the changes of the world. It is only by keeping them out of the reach of improvement, an experiment which has been tried with some success in Ireland, that Catholics can be made to retain their unfavorable distinctions. Remove the ban, and they move abreast with Protestants in the upward march of improvement. Remove the jealousies which it now rests with the Protestants to dispel, and they will join heart and hand with the Protestants, in the great cause of God and man. The Catholics, it must be remembered, have a religion, one of the various forms of Christianity; and there are examples enough to show that Catholics can have all the earnestness, humility, and excellence of the gospel. If their faith led to excesses in past ages, they are not answerable for the deeds of their fathers; and it is not for Protestants to cast the first stone.

St. Paul

ART. III.—*Sermons by the late Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, now first published from the Author's Manuscripts.* Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1829. 8vo. pp. 358.

THE history of public preaching might open a fruitful subject of inquiry. To say nothing of its state under the Jewish dispensation, it might be interesting and instructive, could adequate materials be found, to trace its various progress and influence, from its commencement under the gospel, when our Saviour 'began to teach and to preach,' when Peter arose in the midst of the assemblies of Jerusalem, and Paul stood upon Mars' Hill to declare to the men of Athens the 'unknown God,'—through their immediate successors, the early Fathers, as they are called, and the preachers of the Reformation, to the present day.

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to execute such a work with any good measure of fidelity, without access to more copious stores, than any of our libraries at present supply, and we know not that it has as yet been undertaken. The brief dissertation of Robert Robinson, with which he has prefaced his celebrated notes to Claude's *Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, and one or two even smaller works, are the only attempts of this nature in our own language, with which we, at least, are acquainted. But they furnish only the most general hints of what might be accomplished, and leave us to a strong desire, that a subject, so curious and so copious of instruction, may not long be left without faithful investigation. Robinson has spread before us his plan. He has just opened an enchanting field, and told us of the fair fruits that might be gathered; but for want of materials, he has left it almost wholly unexplored. We wish, therefore, that some true lover of ecclesiastical antiquity and diligent reader of sermons, full of learning or willing to become so, would adopt his purpose, and do something towards its accomplishment. He need only lift up his eyes, and he will see a field white already to harvest. From the preachers of the primitive church; from Basil, Chrysostom of Antioch, and Gregory Nazianzen, among the Greeks; from Jerome and St Austin among the Latins, he might collect fair and abundant fruit, not indeed without some dry leaves and painful thorns, yet 'pleasant to the eye, and good to make wise.'

From their day to that of the Reformation, amidst growing corruptions of doctrine and enormities in practice, when many of the clergy were as ignorant and debased as the people they professed to instruct, and some even of the prelates could not read, the history of the pulpit must be very obscure and unsatisfactory. Through the whole of that dark period, it was grossly perverted from its high purposes. It was made to minister to the vanity and ambition of a favorite preacher, and what was worse, to the passions of the people. Robinson tells us, and we learn from other sources, that the people for a time were suffered to express their delight or their disapprobation by the shaking of their heads, or the lifting of their hands, till, at length, it proceeded to loud acclamations or hisses, and the abuse could be tolerated no longer. But even this indecorum of occasional applause was known in the best days of England. It is related of one celebrated divine of the court of Charles II., that he was sometimes obliged to wave his hand to suppress the growing tumult; but of another, no less than Burnet, who, however, has not recorded it in the *History of his own Times*, that while the 'welcome murmur was breathing around him,' he sat back in the pulpit refreshed and delighted, not willing that any portion of its sweetness should waste itself unheard.

After the labors of Wickliffe, in the fourteenth century, and of Luther and Melancthon, of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, in the sixteenth, preaching was restored to its proper province, and was a mighty instrument in the hands of this goodly company of confessors and reformers, of exposing the errors of past times, and of diffusing the light of truth. From this period, at least in Great Britain, its history might without much difficulty be traced to the present day. Either in the sermons themselves of their distinguished divines, or in the authentic records of their lives, its peculiar characteristics and influences might, at successive periods, be distinguished. The ancient folios of Andrews, Reynolds, and Hall of Norwich; of Hooker, Wilkins, and Jeremy Taylor; the discourses of Leighton, Barrow, Tillotson, and South; of the many learned and eminent among the Non-conformists, of whom were Owen and Bates, Charnock, Baxter, and Howe; in those also of a later day, as Atterbury and Clarke, Sherlock and Secker, of the Establishment; with Watts, Doddridge, Grove, Harris, and Lardner, Jennings, and Chandler—in all these and others of the Dissenters, whose names alone would exceed our limits, might the

faithful historian of the pulpit, find ample materials for his purpose. In truth, a multitude of preachers, even 'an exceeding great army,' would at once rise up to his view. Nor in surveying, as he must, their countless works, would he have just reason to say, with the prophet in the valley of vision, 'Behold! they are very dry.' For with all imaginable varieties of excellences and defects, it will not be denied, that, regarded as a whole, the sermons of English divines, of past and present times, within and without the pale of the church, furnish a body of theological instruction, of scripture illustration, and of practical religion, of wholesome doctrine and useful precept, with which, no other nation of Christendom can compare.

It might be a more difficult and less gratifying task to trace the art of preaching on the continent, and especially among the Catholic nations of Europe. For it was at no period the policy of the church of Rome to cherish a habit of inquiry among the people, or to invite them to search for a reason, when it called upon them to obey a command. Though that church, even in Italy, has produced some great orators, and Bourdaloue, Fléchier, Bossuet, and Massillon, with others among the French, may be adduced as illustrious exceptions, yet it has never, we believe, regarded preaching as an essential duty of its priests; and however it may boast itself of occasional effects from the sermons of such as Savonarola, or Cepistran, or Narni, it will not be denied, that the pulpits of the Catholic churches have often been degraded by the lowest ignorance and the most revolting absurdities.

In Protestant Germany, in Geneva, and like favored portions of Switzerland, there are, and there have been, we know, many learned and eloquent preachers. Formey, Zollikoffer, and Ostervald (we name him for his unwearied as well as intelligent devotion to his flock), are only, we suppose, among the many deserving of honor. Recent travellers and journalists commend the talents and character of others now living. And though our own knowledge of the subject is very limited, yet we should infer, from all that is now written and said, that in the Protestant churches of both these countries, the standard of preaching is high; that the people by their attention conspire with the clergy to improve it, and that the pulpit is regarded as it should be, the great theatre of the gospel, and among the most effectual means of grace.

In our own country, and especially in New England, the earlier history of the pulpit would be found intimately associated with our civil, literary, and all other history. It might be pursued without interruption, from the administration—and we use the term in somewhat of its technical sense—of Cotton, one of the first ministers of the first church, who could put a stop to the progress of a doubtful law, by showing to the General Court his opinion at a Thursday Lecture, for attendance on which they had adjourned their session,—to the present times, when even to touch upon party politics or masonry, might put to hazard a minister's place.

Our fathers, as true descendants from the Puritans, for a century or more, retained the peculiarities of their preaching. For, notwithstanding an occasional dissent, or a bold vindication, as by Roger Williams, of the sacredness of religious liberty, few changes occurred of importance either in the modes of opinion or preaching, before the appearance of the celebrated Whitefield. At that time the Old Arminians, as they have since been called, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, of whom, in spirit, though not in name, amidst prevailing errors God has always preserved in his churches a faithful race,—had the wisdom and courage to oppose themselves to the excesses of the times; and, both by their judicious preaching and their weight of character, stemmed the torrent of fanaticism that threatened to overwhelm the people. Their efforts, as do always the counsels of prudence when opposed to bigotry and misrule, prevailed; and the fruits of their moderation were seen for many years,—would that they had been perpetual—in the harmony and charity of the churches.

To the ministry of Mayhew and of Chauncy, which extended—the former to more than twenty, the latter to more than forty years beyond this period—may doubtless be ascribed an important revolution in the history of the New England pulpit. The learning, wisdom, and piety of these great men, left their impress upon the generation that followed. Men heard from their lips, dispensed with boldness and simplicity, the plain doctrines of the gospel. They heard, also, especially from Mayhew, of the rights of private judgment, and of the liberty and obligation of every Christian to search the scriptures for himself. The same spirit, which characterized their preaching; the same preference of revealed truth to human inventions, or points of doubtful disputation; the same rational and earnest

inculcation of gospel virtue as the test of character and the condition of salvation, were prominent graces in the preaching of Clarke, Belknap, and Howard, and of others, their contemporaries, whom we need not name. We trust that such graces will never cease to honor those who succeed them; and in this hope we must hasten to present to our readers another volume of sermons, from one whose preaching was itself a memorable era in the history to which we have alluded, and which is distinguished, not less by other qualities we are yet to notice, than by the freedom and catholicism which connect Mr Buckminster's with the best works of Mayhew, and by which, indeed, they are like his pervaded.

This volume has been prepared by the friends of the author, and the discourses selected, almost entirely, from his hitherto unpublished manuscripts. It opens with a discourse on Providence; and, if we mistake not, there are many still among us, who, on looking over its pages, will recall the satisfaction with which they heard it from the lips of the preacher. They cannot, indeed, read the voice, the looks, the manner, which gave such sweetness and power to the thought, but they will not fail to recognise some of the characteristic excellences both of his spirit and style.

Having remarked the importance of referring all to God, and of making the belief of his providence a fixed habit of the mind; having explained what is to be understood by a paternal providence, and deduced from the nature of God as a spirit, as well as his relation to the world as its Creator, from the interest which he has shown in it by imparting an express revelation, from the observation of nature, and from the history of mankind, various proofs of this great doctrine, the preacher proceeds;—

‘From the explanations I have given, and from the course of my remarks, it must have appeared, that there is no foundation for the usual distinction between a general and a particular providence; for so intimate are the mutual dependences of animate and inanimate creation, that no providence can be general, which includes not every individual being, and the same arguments which prove that God takes notice of anything, prove that his providence extends equally to all.

‘It shall now be my object to deduce some practical reflections from this most interesting subject.

“For of him, and through him, and to him are all things.” How grand then is God! Christians, have you ever contemplated the wonderful magnificence of this controller of the universe? “Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, nor is weary?” The human mind, trying to form a conception vast enough to embrace the peculiar grandeur of God, feels the insufficiency of its powers, and finds astonished, how narrow is its boasted capacity! We find that to understand his excellence by a single act of comprehension, we must possess a mind equal to his own. I say then again, how inexpressibly great is that being who penetrates at once the recesses, and circumscribes within himself the boundless ranges of creation; who pierces into the profound meditations of the most sublime intelligence above, with the same ease that he discerns the wayward projects of the child; who knows equally the abortive imaginations and the wisest plans of every creature that ever has thought, or that ever will think, throughout the realms of intellect. How transcendent that mind, to which all other minds are infinitely inferior, from the lofty seraph that stands near his throne, down to the poor ideot who is incapable of forming a conception of his Maker. How vast that comprehension, to which all the sciences of all the ages of the world, are not less simple, nor less intelligible, than the first proposition of the infant's earliest lesson. How wonderful is that power, which wields with equal ease the mightiest, and the feeblest agents; directs the resistless thunderbolt, or wafts a feather through the air; bursts out in the imprisoned lava, or rests on the peaceful bosom of the lake; rides on the rapid whirlwind, or whispers in the evening air. Think, I pray you, of that wisdom which conducts, at the same moment, the innumerable purposes of all his creatures, and whose own grand purpose is equally accomplished by the failure or by the success of all the plans of all his creatures. Think of him under whom all agents operate, because by him all beings exist. Think of him who has but to will it, and all moving nature pauses in her course, chaos succeeds to the harmony of innumerable spheres, and eternal darkness overwhelms this universe of light. Yet in the midst of darkness his throne is stable, and all is light about the seat of God. “Such knowledge is too wonderful for us; for it is high, we cannot attain unto it.”—pp. 22-24.

In the third and fourth sermons, the Evidences of Retribution for Sin, and the Disclosures of a Future Judgment, are exhibited with great solemnity and earnestness. These two dis-

courses, though distinct in their topics, are yet closely connected, and together present some of the most awakening and affecting considerations, which subjects of this moment ought always to suggest, but which are so apt to be forgotten. In the latter discourse, the admirers of Massillon might at first view imagine some coincidences, in thought or in illustration, with the celebrated sermon of that preacher on the Last Judgment. But upon a careful comparison of both, it will appear that the coincidence is of a nature inseparable from the subject; at least, from any just or useful consideration of it; while it will also be seen with what original and characteristic beauties Mr Buckminster could at pleasure adorn and impress those truths, on which, from the importance of the topics and the obligation on every christian teacher of frequently presenting them, it would seem impossible to avoid repeating what has been often repeated before. In the former discourse, in pointing out the various evidences of the divine government, the preacher observes;—

‘But the most important witness of the moral and judicial government of God, is undoubtedly to be found within the mind itself. When we speak of conscience, every man knows what we mean; for its tribunal is within him, and this vicegerent of the divine justice exercises a power, from which it is impossible entirely to escape, though it is sometimes silenced, corrupted, or deceived. This it is, which makes cowards of the most abandoned in the hour of death, which flashes its light into the most secret retreats of the guilty, and breathes an acknowledged horror over the prosperity of the wicked. This it is, which renders the face of nature horrible to the man, who bears about with him the worm that never dies; this is the avenger, which waits only for a moment of solitude, or an interval of retirement, to make the proudest and most important of villians weary of life, and if it find him never alone, pursues him even in his dreams, and terrifies him with visions of the night. It is a rewarder also, as well as a punisher; an approver, as well as a condemner. It is regarded not merely as a strong indication of the divine government, but as constituting the most extensive and effectual provision which God has made for the administration of justice; and there is no man who has ever fallen under its sentence, who will not confess that it is the minister, as well as the interpreter of divine justice.

‘Has your conscience ever reproached you? Did it not then, at that very moment, lift a corner of the veil which is yet drawn

over this scene of future judgment? Every public oath, every faltering perjury, every dying confession, every prayer for mercy, every face pale with falsehood, and every wild look of despair, is an appeal, which our reason acknowledges, to this future tribunal.

'When Paul was reasoning of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled. The rising of the procurator from his seat, was itself a proclamation, loud as the voice of the inspired apostle, that the doctrine which he taught was no chimera. But if the Roman governor chooses, let him refer these suggestions of his troubled mind to the class of superstitious delusions, and maintain that these suggestions do not demonstrate such a retribution as the apostle was preaching. Be it so then; and let Felix take his seat again, and demand another proof; for conscience, though it makes us cowards, does not always make us believers. Let the trial then of the innocent proceed. Let the judge, who has the preacher in his power, proceed to pass his iniquitous sentence, and cut off at once the argument and the life of the apostle. Nay, more; let him retire now with his guards, and ask, where is this judgment of which the prisoner prated so long? Now call in the spectators of this injustice, the sufferers under his administration; show the plunder which Felix has collected, the villages smoking under his rapacious edicts. Let them hear the cries of his innocent victims, and the loud appeals to Heaven, from every part of Judea, against the cruelty of the unprincipled procurator; and then ask them whether Paul's doctrine is true, and you will hear another answer.' pp. 46-48.

In treating of the Future State of the Just, which is the subject of the fifth discourse, the preacher announces it as his object, not so much to give definite conceptions of scenes which we can know only after our departure from this world, as to guard against some erroneous imaginations, which may render the belief in a future existence less efficacious than it ought to be. We would gladly follow the writer through the rich field of thought which he opens to us. In the discussion of it, he has assembled some of the most sublime and enlivening considerations, of which, in our present imperfect knowledge, we are perhaps capable. The intimate connexion of the present with the future; the perpetual and infinite progress of the soul in the life eternal; its advancement in knowledge; the exercise and improvement of its social and its active powers; and the wide scope that will be given to the kind affections,

which he represents as constituting an important ingredient of of heavenly felicity—these are among the topics he illustrates. Nor does he present them merely as beautiful speculations. They are exhibited in their practical influence; in their efficacy to disengage us from the world, to release us from the dominion of its cares and fears and pleasures, to exalt and sanctify the affections, and, amidst temptations and fears and griefs, to purify and sustain by hopes that are full of immortality. To those on whom either the appointments of Heaven or bitter experience of their own errors, has forced conviction of the unsatisfactoriness of this world and the necessity of looking for a better; and to those especially, who, in the sorrows of bereavement, are accustomed to seek for their solace in the prospect of a reunion with the wise and virtuous in heaven—and multitudes of such there are,—the following passages will be read, we are sure, with deep-felt satisfaction.

‘The future state of the just, we have every reason to believe, will be a state of great activity, and constant advancement in knowledge. But let us not confine our notions of our progress in another life, to the mere enlargement of our knowledge. We may hope that we shall there find goodness more in honor than knowledge, or rather, that the one will be made inseparable from the other. If we may venture to speak of those pursuits, which will be most interesting hereafter to virtuous and pious minds, they will not be the natural history of other worlds, or the astronomy of other systems, so much as the knowledge which will be communicated to us of the history of God’s providence; the reasons of many of those events which have now perplexed our philosophy, and eluded our search; the light which will be thrown upon God’s moral government of the world. How interesting, too, will be the mere knowledge of ourselves, of our past progress, of the causes which have interrupted, the trials, the privations, and the calamities, which have contributed so mysteriously to the formation of our present character. The study of man, indeed, in connexion with God, will be enough for a long life hereafter, and the knowledge of himself the most fruitful of interest to every individual. “Now we see through a glass darkly.” This world and our own characters are full of enigmas. “Then we shall know even as we are known,” and it will be no small accession of knowledge to know ourselves, even as we are known by others. ‘As every consideration leads us to believe that the future life will be a social state, therefore love, kind affections, and

good will, are to constitute the real reward, the true felicity of heaven. We say that the future state will be a social state. Are we not authorized to say this, by that language of scripture, which speaks of the assemblies of just men made perfect, and of the many mansions which Jesus has prepared for his followers, that where he is they may be also? Besides, if our future happiness, as we before observed, is to be the happiness of men, we know of none, except that which depends on the mere gratification of the senses, which may not be communicated to others, and which is not increased by this participation. We are to enter also a state of retribution, and it is difficult to imagine how that retribution can be accomplished, if all the relations with those among whom we have lived, giving and receiving good or evil, are to be at once abolished. It is true, that the social character of the future state, does not necessarily suppose that former intimacies will be renewed. But if there is to be a junction of virtuous persons, it seems hardly consistent with all the analogies of nature, that those should be unknown to each other, who seem best formed for the promotion of each other's happiness; or that, where two minds have been subject to the same discipline, formed the same habits, and drawn their happiness from the same sources, they should, in another state, be cut off from an enjoyment so pure, merely in consequence of their transition to another region.

'I know that in consequence of the prodigious change effected by the dissolution of these bodies, it may be seriously doubted whether we shall have the same visible marks of mutual recognition, which now make us known to each other. But there are beings, we may hope, who could not fail of finding each other again, by those eternal and ineffaceable characters of mind and sympathies of soul, which bound them together here, more strongly than all the ties of consanguinity, or the strength of long intimacy.

'Here, then, enters the delightful thought of love purified, enlarged, and invigorated. Here we have a glimpse of self-annihilation, and of that infinite benevolence which now exists only in God. It seems, indeed, that here on earth we feel very little love, which is not in some measure supported by the relation of the object to ourselves as individuals. We see and feel ourselves in all that is about us. Very wonderful will be the change, then, if we can know in all its purity and power that affection which is satisfied with the sole pleasure of making others happy. We may even then know what it is to love God himself, not as we love him here, so feebly, so faintly, so inadequately, but supremely and unalterably, without fear, or doubt, or error.' pp. 76-78.

The discourse is thus concluded.

‘Who then are to be partakers of this life to come? The world is full of rational beings, capable of forming the conception and cherishing the hope of such an existence. But can we expect to find hereafter, in a more exalted state, all the degraded creatures who live now on the mercy and forbearance of God? Neither scripture nor reason will allow this hope. There are those who will sleep in the dust of the earth, and awake to everlasting contempt. The society of heaven cannot be composed, like the present, of the foolish and the wise, the virtuous and the profligate, the worthless and the excellent. Into the world we have been describing entereth nothing that defileth or that maketh a lie. “And I heard a voice out of heaven saying, It is done. I am alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the second death.”

‘How glorious are the prospects opened to the eye of faith and virtue! Separated from the wicked, to dwell only with the wise and virtuous, to act with them, to learn with them, and to worship with them the everlasting Father; to be occupied forever in the general good of God’s creatures, and to proceed from good to better, from glory to glory!’ p. 81.

In a sermon on Religious Seriousness, the writer distinguishes, with philosophical accuracy, between that seriousness which is the genuine result of deep impressions of religion, and some other states of mind which may be mistaken for it, or are sometimes thought to supply its place. This is a class of subjects of great importance, on which dangerous errors prevail. He shows, that what he would recommend is something wholly different from a natural moderation; from the gravity, which comes with the pursuits of the studious and contemplative, and which may exist, like the other, with a total insensibility on religious subjects; from constitutional melancholy and a spirit of despondency; and it is with reference to the first of these, he thus delineates a character of which we may often trace the likeness amidst the bustle and selfish competitions of the world.

‘There is in some men a certain constitutional moderation and sedateness of mind, which passes for a serious temper. These are persons of extreme regularity of life; men who are

never thrown off their guard by violent emotions, either of joy or of apprehension, as to this world or the next. There is usually in such characters a great fund of worldly wisdom and of prudence, which keeps them aloof from excesses, and disposes them always to wish that the world may go on as it has done. They are afraid of any novelty or change in the state of affairs immediately around them; and hence they are the advocates for a peaceable continuance of old habits. They are what are called steady men; and are indeed of great value to the well-being of the community. They are held out to the young as examples of what they should aspire to imitate; and it is much to be desired that such a class of men, who are not the slaves of any visible vices, and not the promoters of any species of irregularity, should increase in a community and give it stability and respect. But the sedateness which arises merely from moderated passions or selfishness, and the sobriety proceeding merely from ancient and regular habits, are very different from that seriousness which is produced by an habitual contemplation of the solemn truths which the gospel unfolds to us. This constitutional solidity of character, may exist with the utmost indifference to religious truth. It may exist in a mind which never has been touched with the grand thought of eternity, and never has inquired, with trembling apprehension, what it shall do to be saved. That kind of religious insensibility, which presents nothing offensive in the external conduct, that uniform sobriety of deportment, which is never betrayed into any extravagance, which is perfectly contented with itself, and conforms to the external faith of a community, is the most difficult disposition in the world to awaken. There is no reaching such a heart by the ordinary applications from the pulpit. It is almost impracticable to probe a conscience, which has never seriously reproached itself. The character I have been describing is extremely common. It is not a religious, it is a selfish, though a regular character. The man of truly serious impressions is often exercised with the most solemn contemplations, the most moving anxiety, the most humble and devotional sentiments. Real seriousness offers a ground for continual exertion and improvement; but the mere sobriety of a worldly man, is always the same, always self-complacent, and therefore always stationary.'—pp. 119–121.

In opposition to this and other specious appearances, he exhibits some of the characteristics of true seriousness, as proved by an habitual reverence for the subjects of religion, by a devout observance of its ordinances, by the prevailing tenor of

the thoughts, and the constancy and sincerity of secret prayer. In this discourse, we believe the writer has left a transcript of his own spirit. We see in it the solemnity, with which he was himself accustomed to regard the great objects of his faith. This was a sentiment to which the sufferings of bodily infirmities may in his case have given additional tenderness. But it was a part also of his habitual piety ; and it produced an utter dislike, even an impatience which he would not repress, of that levity, flippancy, and contempt for opponents, of that rashness, also, and defiance, with which the controverted topics of religion, both in the pulpit and in familiar conversation, are too often discussed.

There is one excellence, which distinguishes these sermons, as it did indeed the whole ministry of Mr Buckminster. It is the sagacity, freedom, and power, with which he was accustomed to notice and expose the errors or vices of the fashionable and worldly. All that conventional morality, which is just observant enough of the proprieties of life to escape the world's censure, or just yielding enough to the expectations of well-bred society to secure its favor ; the alms-giving, or the help to public charities, that is no better than the sacrifice of sordidness to the dread of reproach ; that heartless commerce of visits, that would pass itself off for friendliness or hospitality ; with all the diversified forms, which envy or censoriousness, ambition, vanity, or selfishness are wont to assume—as they were the frequent subjects of his observation, so were they by him freely and fearlessly rebuked. No man detected sooner the disguises of art. His high reputation, aided by his freedom of intercourse with the various classes of society and his well known acuteness of observation, gave to even his severest animadversions upon such subjects, an authority which men of more secluded habits or less sagacious discernment, do not always possess. It was acknowledged that he was a competent judge. And though the kindness of his temper would allow him to see in the lesser follies of affectation and fashion, only an occasion for amusement or satire, yet, when he found them presuming to interfere with the claims of religion, or sheltering themselves under its name, none were more faithful than he to apply the sword of the spirit, and to probe the conscience of the offender with the word of God. The vain woman and the frivolous youth ; the slave of fashion and the hardened sensualist ; the rich man trusting in his riches, and

the proud man despising others, were never spared his intrepid rebuke, and we can even now imagine him, youthful as he was, speaking with the authority of the ancient prophets, when denouncing the judgments of Heaven upon a worldly race;—‘Tremble, ye women that are at ease, and be troubled ye careless ones;—and ye also that bear silver, shall be cut off;—for I will search Jerusalem with candles; and neither your silver nor your gold shall be able to deliver you.’ Nor, such was the union of qualities in this extraordinary man, do we believe that such admonitions would have lost any of their solemnity, even with those who were conversant with his most cheerful hours, and saw him daily in the unreserved intimacy of friendship.

Some examples of this fidelity will be found in the discourses of our author, published soon after his death; and others may be remembered by his hearers, yet living. It is also illustrated in the following paragraphs, which we extract from a sermon on *Consistency in Religion*, in the present collection.

‘In the last place, we observe the inconsistency which we have been condemning, in that partial obedience we are contented to pay to the commands of God, and in the various compensations and comparisons we make between one duty or disposition and another, both in our estimate of our own characters, and the characters of others. Thus, the avaricious and hard-hearted comfort themselves with the consciousness of their honesty, and with the plea that they are never guilty of extravagance, improvidence, luxury, or dissipation. The man of pleasure boasts of his charities, his frankness, his freedom from sordid and narrow-minded vices; and not only so, he looks with contempt on his frugal and regular neighbour. The man who has amassed a great estate by fraudulent means, will attempt to make an atonement for his former life by some occasional acts of pious munificence. In some circles beneficence has the preference; in others, commercial integrity; in others, fidelity in friendship; in others, religious zeal. We select from the universal obligations of morality, those in which we think ourselves least deficient, and look with complacency through the glass which is colored with our favorite hue.

‘This character of inconsistency, is totally distinct from that of the weak and imperfect Christian, whose strong passions occasionally surprise him into acts of which he repents, or who is sensible of the imperfection of his best services, notwithstanding his daily endeavours after improvement.

‘My friends, it becomes us most seriously to remember that the habitual and deliberate neglect of a single commandment, implies a disposition of revolt, of rebellion, and of resistance, totally inconsistent with a religious character. It implies that all our pretences of reverence for our Maker are hollow and dissembling; it implies that we practise upon ourselves delusions the most gross, when we imagine that the observance of one law, will atone for the violation of another; that a man may be charitable without being just, or just without being charitable; honorable without being pious, or pious without being honorable; sober without being chaste, punctilious without being exact, or generous without prudence and choice; zealous without being candid, or candid because indifferent and careless; ceremoniously exact without being pure within, or so pure within as to despise any aid from without.’—pp. 168–170:

We must omit, as our limits prescribe, any particular notice of the discourse on the Peculiar Blessings of our Social Condition as American Citizens, in which, however, the reader may find many valuable suggestions, the results of Mr Buckminster’s observation and experience both at home and abroad. While he was a traveller for health in Europe, he saw with a discriminating glance the advantages and the evils of ancient governments, and of established or overgrown institutions. He saw that with the benefits which come with time, were inseparably connected abuses, and even miseries, from which our distance and youth may protect us; and both in this and the Thanksgiving sermon on a kindred topic, which will be remembered as one of the former collection, he has presented many interesting views, which the christian philosopher and patriot will not fail to contemplate with pleasure and improvement.

There is one more discourse, on which we cannot forbear to remark. It is that on the Example of Jesus Christ; and it seems to us, familiar as is the topic, one of the most beautiful and instructive in this volume. It presents also some of the peculiar graces of Mr Buckminster’s preaching; and especially that felicitous use or adaptation of scripture, with which he was accustomed to illustrate or adorn his subjects, and which consists rather in allusion than in direct quotation of whole texts, which, in less skilful hands, might become too frequent and tedious, burdening rather than enforcing a topic. The writings of Robert Hall, the celebrated Baptist preacher, are distinguished

for this propriety and beauty of scriptural allusion ; and though it may not equally strike our readers, yet, should we adduce a single example from this discourse of Mr Buckminster, we should say, that for ourselves we were never so deeply impressed with a sense of our Lord's poverty, as when, in illustrating his social character, the preacher says, ' Such was our Saviour's mode of life, that he was obliged to be much in company. "Not having where to lay his head," he was frequently found at the tables of the rich and in the houses of his friends.'

The character of Jesus Christ was a favorite topic with Mr Buckminster. He understood and felt it, in all its transcendent purity, and simplicity, and grandeur. In this sense, we might say, that he entered into the 'mind of Christ;' and in the discourse to which we refer, as in many others, it may be seen with what delight, and pathos, and eloquence, he could present to view and imitation its lovely virtues. In his elevated conception of its grandeur and excellence, he overlooked or rejected the vain questions which men have raised about the metaphysical rank or nature of our Lord, and could scarcely endure that any portion of the practical influence of his moral character, should be lost amidst doubtful and unprofitable discussions. From this cause, perhaps, so far at least as any cause can be assigned for a calumny so gratuitous, he has been reproached among others, with concealment of his sentiments. In other words, it is said he held speculations which he feared to acknowledge. The indignity of this charge, so often repeated for the promotion of an unprincipled sectarianism, is equalled only by its absurdity. They who knew Mr Buckminster, know that concealment was no part of his wisdom ; and that among the personal qualities that commanded their admiration, none were more distinguished, than the 'courage and elevation, that would not suffer him to take any measure, or to behave to any man, under the influence of fear ; and the simplicity of intention and purpose, that rejected all artifice of speech and conduct.'* In truth, the boldness, even to bluntness, with which Mr Buckminster was capable of asserting whatever either in religion, literature, or art, seemed to him important, might sometimes have been set in contrast with the usual courtesy of his manners. And they who, for their own

* See extracts from President Kirkland's Sermon at the Funeral of Mr Buckminster, as published in the Appendix to Mr Palfrey's Historical Discourse.

poor purposes, first invented, and they who, for the same wretched purposes, have repeated the calumny, might do well to comprehend, and in their measure to imitate, his elevated conception and ardent love of truth, that would not suffer him to darken or deform it with fruitless disputation; his respect for the impressions of others, which, with some impatience of its harsh spirit, indisposed him for controversy; and, most of all, his love and charity for souls, which made welcome and venerable to his view, every form of piety, and not seldom restrained him from combatting a speculative error, lest he might loosen or impair in a devout mind, some association which time or habit had made salutary. In this he well understood the tenderness and prudence of his Master, who would not have his disciples gather up the tares, lest they should 'root up also the wheat with them.'

By those who may read these discourses, as they have been accustomed to read the productions of this eminent scholar, for their literary value, they will probably be regarded as inferior in style and execution to the former collection. They certainly do not bear marks of the same intellectual toil and elaborate composition. But it will be remembered, that they are not only, like the others, entitled to all the charity due to posthumous publications, but that from their place as a second volume, they have been selected, of necessity, from a more limited number; and also, that in the earlier series of this work, many valuable contributions were made to its practical department from the manuscripts of Mr Buckminster, which had narrowed still more the range of selection. And when we consider the shortness of his ministry, and its frequent interruptions from his constitutional malady, we are rather surprised at the industry and fidelity, which,—within the space of seven years, more than one of which was spent in distant travel for health, and in none of the residue of which was the writer negligent of pastoral duty, or sparing of his aid in the numerous literary and benevolent objects, for which it was at all times eagerly sought,—could produce so much that is worthy of his exalted reputation, and permanently beneficial to letters and to religion. In this latter object, involving the whole cause of Christianity and of theological science, he became, as he advanced in his ministry, more and more engrossed. It was the ruling passion of his soul, to which he was fast sacrificing his fondness for elegant literature and indulgence of various reading, and of which he has

himself left a strong expression in the words, with which, as we are told by his accomplished biographer, so soon united with him in an heavenly ministry, 'he closed his earthly labors in the pulpit of instruction.'—'It is the constant object of my wishes and prayers, and may it be the effect of my preaching, under the blessing of God to contribute to the formation of that noblest of characters, *the Christian*, whose love, as the apostle describes it, abounds more and more, in knowledge, and in all judgment; who approves the things that are excellent, and who remains sincere and without offence till the day of Christ.' Had it been possible, therefore, for his friends to have sought the sanction of their author for the publication of this volume, it would not, we are confident, have been withheld, desirous, as he was, above all, that his preaching should do good, and that, though these discourses might add nothing to a fame already preeminent, they might subserve a cause much dearer to his heart, the cause of evangelic piety and virtue.

It has been thought, that Mr Buckminster was accustomed to avail himself freely of his reading in the composition of his sermons. And they, who are familiar with this class of publications, particularly with those of the most celebrated French preachers, may discover, as we have already intimated, resemblances or coincidences either of thought or method, that perhaps may be considered as some departure from the standard which public opinion, and the general practice of the clergy in this country, has made allowable. Upon this point, we may just remark, that, in whatever freedom of this kind Mr Buckminster thought proper to indulge, with the openness that was so natural to him, he was free to acknowledge it; and of this, his manuscripts furnish many examples. It is also highly probable,—such was the extent and variety of his reading, and such also the retentiveness of his memory, that he sometimes confounded his recollections of the thoughts of others with his own conceptions. But even in those instances in which a resemblance may most clearly be perceived, as in the discourses on Faith in the former collection, bearing strong internal evidence of having been written after the perusal of sermons on the same topic, by Newcome Cappe,—the discriminating reader will at once perceive how little our author could have needed such extraneous help, and will scarcely fail to remark the superior energy of thought, richness of imagery, and fervor of eloquence, by which, remoulding it, as it were, in his own

mind, he would exhibit in new forms of beauty and power, what in its naked conception or leading design he had not hesitated to adopt from another. This is a freedom, which they only who need depend on it least, will most skilfully employ. And who, that is competent to judge, will doubt that it is both lawful and wise, that the faithful preacher, who would furnish solid and various instruction, should sometimes enrich his own with the thoughts of others, and that to meet the incessant demands of preparation for the pulpit, the resources of a diligent reading should come in aid of painful excogitation and original production? Let a minister maintain in his discharge of this, as well as of all other duties, a high standard of excellence, tenderness of conscience, and an inviolable integrity. Let him frankly acknowledge, if need be, the sources of his borrowed treasures, whether new or old. He will scorn to accept praises, or to deck himself in honors, not his own; nor will he leave his friends, as did a celebrated preacher of days long since past,* to the perplexing inference, that he must have copied the sermon of a brother divine, and carelessly left it, with his own manuscripts, to the disposal of partial or unsuspecting executors, and, yet worse, to what under such circumstances could prove no other than the torturing ordeal of the press. For though not swift, as are some, to interpret Providence, we should be tempted to infer, that he who was left to a negligence like this, was suffering some portion of the infliction aforesaid denominated by divines, judicial blindness.

To no faithful minister can his weekly preparation for the instruction of his flock, be other than an anxious and arduous task. He will consecrate to it much of his time, and deem it worthy the exercise of his highest faculties. But the demands of the pulpit, as of the grave, are insatiable; and he must sometimes meet them amidst weakness and care and sorrow, when the head is sick and the heart is faint, when much must be done, and there is little time to do it. What forbids, under such circumstances, that he should mingle his own with the well digested meditations of others; or, in other words, make his people partakers of the fruits of his reading? Is he not thus in truth,—and here we are supposing, of course, a diligent im-

* It is a singular fact, probably familiar to our readers, that the excellent sermon of Doddridge on the *One Thing Needful*, so often printed as a tract, was found in manuscript among the sermons of Whitefield, and ignorantly published with other works under the name of that popular missionary.

provement of the light within, with a generous acknowledgement of what may be reflected from without—is he not more faithfully discharging his duty, and, beyond comparison, more profitable to his flock, than he could possibly be in a dull repetition of a few favorite topics, which have indeed some show of novelty from their appendage to different texts, but are of little efficacy to the satisfying of the hearer? For, alas! these texts themselves shall prove but as those little by-paths, diverging from the beaten road, which tempt the traveller with the hope of some verdant and refreshing scenery, but shortly bring him back to disappointment and weariness, amidst the same barren prospects,

‘Where neither leaf nor fruit is seen,
But all a dreary waste.’

It is not, therefore, in the number of sermons merely, which may after all present little variety of thought or instruction, and require little effort, but in the wise selection and thorough prosecution of their subjects, that the fidelity, as well as resources of a minister, are seen. For both these essentials of good preaching was the author of these discourses distinguished. He brought to his pulpit the choicest fruits of his genius and various learning; of his glowing fancy, of his exquisite taste, and above all, his sanctified soul. By those who were familiar with his habits, we are told, that ‘he wrote with rapidity, but with great intellectual toil.’ And among the effects of his preaching, of which there are distinct and grateful recollections, we have been reminded by a friend, of the testimony of a late counsellor,* who, in the walks of his profession had attained to a fame scarcely less brilliant than his own, that the first impression he received of Christianity, to touch his heart, and to show him the beauty of holiness, was from the preaching of Mr Buckminster.

It has been asked whether, had he lived, Mr Buckminster would have met the demands of the times, and maintained his unrivalled reputation. We have no reason to doubt, that had his faculties been spared him, he would have met the demands of any age, and contributed his wonted share to its progress. For his was a spirit formed for all times; born, not only to live, but to grow immortally. He had that within him, which would engage and sanctify all his labors, and en-

* Hon. Samuel Dexter, who for many years was a member of the Brattle Street Society.

able him to triumph even over his infirmities. Among all his graces, nothing was more beautiful than the piety, which referred his whole lot and prospects to God, and the cheerful faith, with which, silently and meekly, he bore a malady that threatened for years the prostration of his reason. We should bless the Father of Spirits for the lights which he has kindled among us, reflecting in greater or inferior measure the lustre of his own truth and goodness; and we cannot cease to bless him, for having raised up, and continued even so long, a servant so richly gifted, whose exalted powers and attainments were all the ministers of his virtue, and who, by the splendor of his fame, and the ascendancy of his character, could compel even the most frivolous and worldly to confess, that there must be something great and venerable, altogether lovely and desirable in a religion, which could command the faith, and engage the service, and so evidently sway the life of such a man.

H. N. P. Johnson.

ART. IV.—*The Last Autumn at a Favorite Residence. With other Poems.* By MRS LAWRENCE. Second Edition. Liverpool. G. & J. Robinson. 1829. 12mo. pp. 160.

A GREAT deal of sweet and quiet poetry, like that contained in the above named volume, is published in England, and never read, or even heard of here. This fact is sufficient to prove that the present age is a poetical one, and even more so than those which have preceded it. Waller, celebrated as he was, produced no poetry so good as much which now comes to us by accident, without fame, and without pretension. As for Duke, and Spratt, and several others of their rank, to whom Dr Johnson has given an immortality in his Lives, which they would never have gained for themselves, George IV. might say of them, with a little adaptation of the words of his ancient predecessor, 'stout King Henry,'

'I trust I have within my realm
Five hundred as good as they.'

Of course we shall not be understood to speak in disparagement of the masters of poetry who lived in former times, and whom we hold in deep reverence. But one poet does not

make a poetical age; and we say that volumes on volumes of poetry are now published, which, without being of the highest order of excellence, are so good and so numerous, as to mark the present age as more poetical than the last.

Mrs Lawrence's little book is characterized by those qualities which we like to see, because of their appropriateness, in the poetry of a woman,—by sweetness, tenderness, and holy feeling. The principal piece, which occupies, however, but twenty pages of the volume, the last Autumn at a Favorite Residence, reminds us strongly of the Pleasures of Memory. There is the same calm, religious, twilight atmosphere about it, which hangs over the more finished production of Rogers. Mrs Lawrence's poem opens with some pretty stanzas, in which she bids farewell to the flowers which her own hands had planted, and the scenes which had witnessed all her joys and griefs. Many images of past happiness are recalled and described as the poem proceeds. What mother's heart will not be touched with this?

'—"And here *he* dwelt!—amid these bowers,
Whose shrubs perfume the lawn;
The happy birds' wild minstrelsy
Awoke him here at dawn!"
Pure as the blush which morning wears,
Was that fair cheek's soft mantling hue,
And hare-bells bathed in twilight's tears
Ne'er matched that eye's bright sparkling blue:
His cherub voice was on the breeze,
His frolic step beneath those trees:
Within that hawthorn's ancient shade,
At noon in rosy health he played,—
How proud each humble bud to view,
Which in his own, *own* garden grew!
Its circling verge his loved domain,
Where yet some wild-grown flowers remain.
Years have passed on, but still the place
Sorrowing my pensive footsteps trace,
Where tangled boughs obscure the day,
Or but admit a sickly ray,
Where the pale pink more pallid grows,
And faint and scentless droops the rose.

'T was here, secure from sorrow's blast,
His bright and brief existence past,
E'en like the wind-harp's thrilling strain,
'T was sweet, but ne'er shall wake again!

'What visions cloud these parting hours,
What sadness shrouds the fading bowers!
Haste! haste! and bid these shades adieu,
Which thus my bursting grief renew!
Why stream my tears, why bleeds my heart,
From scenes thus steeped in woe to part?
My child! my child!—no more thy name
These faltering, trembling lips proclaim;
No soft voice answers from those shades,—
He comes not bounding through the glades!

'Radiant with health and bloom he rose
That morning from his blest repose,
To press e'er evening, changed and low,
That couch which ne'er shall dawn-light know.

'O Memory, cease!—O Time, control
The grief, which deep within my soul
A hidden volume lies,—
Of other griefs the wounds have healed,
Of other tears the source been sealed,
And passing years have o'er my head
The dews of blest oblivion shed,
For many a later pain;
But this, undying, undecayed,
Can only with existence fade,
One only consolation know,
Of all that earth and skies bestow,—
This world alone divides us now,
—In Heaven we meet again!'

pp. 7-10.

The pictures of domestic scenery which are drawn, are truly English. The following description of a rookery, will awaken some pleasant recollections in those who have visited the mother country, where almost every old mansion has in its immediate neighborhood an ærial colony, who seem to be as really tenants of the estate, as the cottagers below them.

'Farewell, ye old *patrician* trees,
Proud ornament of scenes like these:
Ye lofty elms! whose boughs have seen
Two hundred springs renew your green,
And spread o'er pleasures long decayed,
Your deep and venerable shade—
Dear to the rooks;—in earliest Spring
The busy tribes were on the wing,

When March winds bowed the tree's tall crest,
 And rudely shook the half-formed nest.
 Gay clamoring, on the light air borne,
 I heard the flight arrive at morn,
 While moaning winds were surging loud,
 And chilling showers the dawn-light cloud ;
 E'er the low sun had drank the dew,
 Or sleep-closed flowers their bloom renew.
 Say ! from what distant lands ye come,
 To claim with us your annual home ?
 And weave anew, in hope still blest,
 The old hereditary nest ?
 Ah ! not for me, returning Spring
 Shall here your busy numbers bring :
 Ah ! not for me again to trace
 The wiles of your sagacious race,
 To watch your toils, and, day by day,
 Idly, your busy work survey ;
 To see you on the lawn alight,
 Or, wheeling, soar in rapid flight,
 Intent some ponderous branch to tear
 From yon old willow, crisp and bare,
 Or from some pilfering neighbour wrest
 The mossy spoil that lined his nest.

' Though *here* no more the household hearth
 Shall echo to *my* children's mirth,
 No more, calm-floating on the breeze,
 Its blue smoke curl above these trees,
 (While its bright blaze reflected shone
 On all I loved to call my own,)
 Though dim the halls, the chambers closed,
 Where social love and peace reposed,
 Though from the barred and silent gate
 No welcome I again await,—
 Oh ! ever may its green domain
 A safe retreat for *you* contain—
 Unharm'd, and joyous may ye soar, .
 Though I shall see your haunts no more !'

pp. 15-18.

Next to the piece from which we have taken the above extracts, is placed a collection of shorter poems, entitled *Fragments*. They are mostly imitations from the German, Spanish, Italian, &c., and are marked by the same smooth and flowing diction, and, if we may use the phrase, feminine senti-

ment, which appear in the longer poem. From among these Fragments we shall take, as a specimen, the following original Lines to the Miniature Picture of a Child. The miniature represents the boy 'as having just closed the little volume, from which he had been repeating his prayers.'

'Long years have passed, yet still while here I bend,
Fast flow the tears that weep thy early doom;
Still on my soul the secret sorrow preys
That mourns thee low in thy untimely tomb.

'Oh! best beloved! (was ought on earth more dear?)
Is this, alas! all that remains of thee?
Dim through my tears the lovely image smiles,
Still, as in life, from care and sorrow free.

'Blest be the hand which thus with sacred skill,
This cherished idol to my heart has given;
Rescued from time and death that cheek's soft bloom,
And shown the lost on earth, preserved in heaven—

'Such as erewhile, in childhood's blissful hour
I saw him sporting on that flower-strewn sod,
Nor knew the whirlwind fate was on the wing,
Which instant summoned him, to meet his God.

'(Ah! who so bright, so pure, so fit to die,
By brief transition to that heaven to rise,
Which bade him bless me for some few short years,
Then swift recalled him to his native skies!)

'The same soft radiance gilds that amber hair,
The same bright smile in those blue eyes I see!
—Angel of heaven! still breathe thy artless prayer;
Oh! intercede for her who mourns for thee!

'For her, who, rich in every earthly joy,
Still heaves for thee the secret lingering sigh,
Still mourns her fair-haired, blooming, darling boy,
Born but to smile and bless her—and to die.

'If here, while kneeling at my feet, thy prayer
In daily incense did to heaven ascend,
Still for thy mother feel an angel's care,
Still o'er her fate a seraph's guard extend.

'When dangers threaten, or when sorrows try,
 To shield, to save her, to thy charge be given!
 On hovering wing receive her parting sigh,
 Guide her freed soul, and welcome her to heaven!'

pp. 144-147.

Walker.

- ART. V.—1. *A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* By JEREMIAH HUNT. London. 1731.
2. *A Sermon preached at the Lecture in Boston, April 1, 1731, before His Excellency, the Governor, and the General Court; upon the News of the Death of the much honored Thomas Hollis, Esq., the most generous and noble Patron of Learning and Religion in the Churches of New England.* By his Friend and Correspondent, BENJAMIN COLMAN. Boston. 1731.
3. *A Sermon preached at the Public Lecture, Tuesday, April 6, 1731, in the Hall of Harvard College, in Cambridge, N. E., upon the News of the Death of Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, the most bountiful Benefactor to that Society.* By EDWARD WIGGLESWORTH, D. D. and Hollis Professor of Divinity. Boston. 1731.
4. *A Philosophical Discourse concerning the Mutability and Changes of the Material World; read to the Students of Harvard College, April 7, 1731, upon the News of the Death of Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, the most bountiful Benefactor to that Society.* By ISAAC GREENWOOD, A. M. Hollisian Professor of Philosophy and the Mathematics. Boston. 1731.
5. *A Poem on the Death of the late Thomas Hollis, Esq.* By SAYER RUDD. London. 1731.

It is due to the memory of an early and distinguished patron of learning in this country, to collect and put on record such historical notices as remain of his life, character, and benefactions. This is the more necessary in the case of Thomas Hollis, as a controversy has been repeatedly started respecting his real intentions in regard to one of the most considerable of his donations, and it is high time that the questions, to which this controversy has given rise, should be put at rest.

His father, of the same name, was of Rotherham, in the county of York, a whitesmith by trade, and the founder of the hospital at Sheffield, for the maintenance of sixteen poor cutlers' widows; an excellent charity, which was afterwards much improved by his descendants.* During the civil wars, he left Yorkshire, and settled with his family in London; and in the year 1679 took a lease for ninety-nine years of Pinners' Hall, formerly the place of meeting of the principal Independents, Oliver Cromwell and others. He was of the Baptist persuasion, and died in London in the year 1718, at the advanced age of eighty-four, leaving three sons, Thomas, Nathaniel, and John, and one daughter, Mary.† Of the daughter we know nothing, but we find that the sons were often joint contributors to the same charities, and John, particularly, as well as Thomas, was a considerable benefactor to Harvard College. It is remarkable of this family from the beginning, that they commonly gave what they had to bestow on public objects while living; that they lived frugally, to have the means of giving more largely; that they gave without ostentation, and did not confine their gifts to a party. As far as they can be traced back, they appear to have been firm and consistent Dissenters, caring but little comparatively for the differences among the Dissenters themselves, and showing on all occasions a warm attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty. They were not related in any way, as was once supposed, to Denzil Lord Hollis, who distinguished himself so much on the parliament side in the civil wars; but, as one of them said, they were full of his spirit.

* Other charities are also mentioned in the following extract from the funeral discourse pronounced at his death.—'He delayed not doing good to his death; but during his life cast about how he might be serviceable to his relations, and, in a particular manner, to the ministers of Christ, wherein he greatly abounded. His charity was not confined to a party, though it might extend more to those who were of his own persuasion, being sincere, and thinking himself in the right. He denied himself and lived frugal, that he might more extensively express his goodness. Various methods he took to be publicly useful; distributing books proper to encourage religion and virtue; promoting schools for instruction of the poor to read and write, and contributing to the building of places of worship. He erected and founded two churches at Rotherham and Doncaster, and established schools at each place for teaching youth; not only communicating in his life to their maintenance, but bequeathing some encouragement after his decease.' A Funeral Sermon occasioned by the Death of Mr Thomas Hollis. Preached Sept. 14, 1718. By Jeremiah Hunt. pp. 32, 33.

† *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, vol. i. p. 1.

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Thomas Hollis, the subject of this memoir, was born in London, in 1659. At ten years of age he had the small pox severely, and was led to form many serious resolutions as to his future conduct, if God should spare his life, which, however, do not appear, by his own confession, to have had much influence on him after his recovery. Five years after this he was sent to France, where he resided for some time in a sober family of Huguenots at Rouen, and acquired a competent knowledge of the French language and literature. He visited that country again on business for his father in 1676, and was exposed, as he says, to sore temptations, which it required great resolution to overcome, aided as he was by the religious principles in which he had been educated. Uncommon care appears to have been bestowed on his religious training from childhood, and we cannot wonder, therefore, that, as he grew up, he imbibed and adopted the peculiar opinions, as well as the generous and catholic spirit of the family. At the age of seventeen he was baptized, and in the following year admitted to the church by Anthony Palmer, then minister at Pinners' Hall.

In 1680, he commenced business for himself, in the Minorities, as a hardware merchant, and subsequently, it seems, took into partnership his brother John. He married in 1683, a daughter of Mr Legay, a reputable London merchant; and the connexion, though unblessed with offspring, appears to have been uncommonly happy. He refers to her again and again, in his correspondence, in terms of great affection and respect, and mentions her death, which took place in 1724, with the fixed and desolate sorrow of a broken-hearted old man.* Accord-

* The following is the character which Dr Hunt gives of this excellent woman.—'She was careful to perform constantly prayer in her closet, and with great seriousness joined in with family devotion and public worship. The respect she was early instructed to pay to the ministers of the gospel, for their works sake, did not prevent her from using her own judgment, which always gave the preference to such who informed the mind, and imparted light, rather than to those who only or chiefly addressed to the passions. In her later years she read pretty much, principally the sacred scriptures, to which she paid the highest deference, and some devotional pieces.

'By these means of religion, she had attained great meekness and humility, and a calm and peaceable disposition. For which reason, when the messengers of peace discovered in their discourses any degree of a temper contrary to their character, she expressed a great concern. And if he *who offends not in word, is a perfect man*, she had as just a claim to that character as any I ever knew. When she met with unkind or injurious treatment, it was her way to refer the affair to God, and would recommend to others the same conduct, from the experience she had had of kind interpositions of Providence. She would sometimes express her grief, that among good Christians there should be

ing to his own account he was never very rich, and he also intimates that he suffered considerably in the South Sea Scheme, and other speculations, which proved so disastrous to English capitalists at the beginning of the last century. Still, as his habits were not expensive, and as he had no children to educate and establish in life, he was able, some time before his first letter to Dr Colman in 1720, to retire from business with a fortune ample enough for his necessities, for a generous hospitality, and for numerous and extensive charities, such as have been equalled by few persons in the same condition.

Pinner's Hall was leased originally, as we have said, to Mr Hollis's father, and we find that the whole family, considerable alike for wealth and character, continued to worship there, and together constituted such an amount of influence, that no important measure was likely to be carried in the society, which they did not propose or favor. Mr Hollis himself, also, was one of the deacons of the church from 1700; another circumstance which must have given him not a little authority and control over everything that was done by the church or congregation. In this state of things, Jeremiah Hunt was called to be their pastor. This gentleman was one of the most learned divines of his day, having pursued his preparatory and professional studies with great assiduity, first at London, then at Edinburgh, and afterwards at Leyden, under the celebrated Frederic Spanheim and Perizonius. His preaching was for the most part expository, in which he went over the New Testament, and some of the Old, in order, explaining everything according to the best of his judgment, and never attempting to conceal or disguise what he thought to be truth, for fear of offending his hearers. He preached without notes, but his memory and method were so good, that he seldom, if ever, forgot his discourses, which were always carefully premeditated. One instance in particular is given, in which, at half an hour's notice, he repeated a sermon he had delivered fourteen years before, without missing, as was believed, three sentences. He was an intimate friend and a relative of Lardner, who preached his funeral discourse, and sums up his

so little discoursing of religion; though she never approved of an unseasonable introduction of such conversation, or a weak management of it. The highest pleasure that I ever observed her to discover, was when she had done some good office to another; and how beneficent and charitable she was, many will be sensible of by the loss of her.'—Sermon on the Death of Mrs Hollis, pp. 36, 37.

character in these words. 'Upon the whole, I always esteemed Dr Hunt as useful a minister as any in his time; which opinion has been as much founded upon the usefulness of his conversation, as of his preaching and writing.' *

The doctrines inculcated by Dr Hunt were decidedly opposed, not only to essential parts of Calvinism, but to all Orthodox explications of the trinity, as the following extracts from his Sermons will show. In a discourse on the Righteousness of God, he says;—

'To imagine "that God will impute the act of one person to another; or that, by the act of one man, all his race should be rendered utterly incapable of determining, or acting, as moral agents;" and to say "that God has not lost his commanding power, though we have lost our ability to obey;" appears to be a way of discoursing, that cannot be, in the least, reconcilable to the attribute of God's righteousness.

* We copy an interesting passage, in this connexion, from Wilson's History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, vol. ii. pp. 268, 269.—'Dr Hunt entertained a great contempt for the whole body of infidels, who pretend to condemn revelation, without ever having carefully studied and considered it. Notwithstanding the airs of superior importance, which they are apt to give themselves, he looked upon them as a sort of men, who have only a very superficial knowledge both of scripture and antiquity. To this ignorance, he partly ascribed their infidelity. As Dr Hunt was the intimate friend of Lord Barrington, who was a member of his church, he frequently visited his lordship at his seat, at Tofts, in Essex; where he sometimes met with Mr Anthony Collins, the celebrated Free-Thinker. As they were all men of letters, and had a taste for scripture-criticism, it is said to have been their custom, after dinner, to have a Greek Testament laid upon the table. In one of these conversations, Mr Collins observed, that he had a very great respect for the memory of the apostle Paul; and added, "I think so well of him, who was both a man of sense, and a gentleman, that if he had asserted he had worked miracles himself, I would have believed him." Lord Barrington immediately produced a passage in which that apostle asserts his having wrought miracles. Mr Collins seemed somewhat disconcerted; and soon after took his hat, and quitted the company. When Lord Barrington, in another conversation, asked Mr Collins what was the reason that, though he seemed himself to have very little religion, he yet took great care that his servants should attend regularly at church, his reply was, that, "he did this to prevent their robbing or murdering him." Dr Hunt had a strong persuasion that the succeeding age would be as remarkable for enthusiasm, as his own was for infidelity; inasmuch as the two extremes mutually produce, or occasion each other. "His prediction (observes a late writer) hath already, in some degree, been accomplished. Enthusiasm hath strongly seized a part of the people, while infidelity has prevailed among others, so that betwixt them both, rational religion has suffered not a little. But let not her friends be discouraged; for in the due order of Providence, she will, I doubt not, revive with fresh lustre and beauty, and at length draw all men after her."

“That God gives us a law, which we are not capable of seeing to be right and fit, and such as arises from our make, and tends to the perfection and happiness of it; or that we should not, by his assistance and with his aid, be capable of complying with it;” is to suppose that God does not deal with his creatures, upon the foot of equity and justice. And, in consequence, this must be a wrong sentiment of God.—Hunt’s Sermons, Vol. I. pp. 237, 238.

Again, in a discourse on the Goodness of God he exclaims;—

‘How inconsistent to this notion of beneficence, is that astonishing doctrine of reprobation!

‘How it came into the world, is not worth examining; but, sure it is, that there is nothing can be more opposite and repugnant to the nature of this attribute of God, than that doctrine. If any should say, “that God may express particular favor to some, more than to others;” this cannot be denied; provided, that they do not refer to such instances of his goodness, as shall interfere with our character as agents. But that he should, from eternity, determine the greatest part of his reasonable creatures, in this structure and frame of things, to everlasting misery, without any regard to a moral character, or the reverse, is no way congruous, or agreeable to the idea of God, who determines unchangeably to be good and beneficent to all his creatures, in a way consistent with wisdom and a perfect moral government.

‘But the doctrine of reprobation supposes the greater part of men, from the determination of God, before their existence, to be sentenced to endless torment; and that without any regard to their moral character; only to gratify the severity of his justice. Surely, no one but must easily discern that this is quite repugnant to this attribute of God; i. e. perfect goodness.’—Id. pp. 263, 264.

Once more, in a sermon on the Majesty, Glory, and Sovereignty of God, he observes;—

‘Some have run into surprising mistakes upon this head. They have imagined that God, as a sovereign, may do what he will with his creatures; that there is nothing inconsistent in supposing, that, upon this character, he can decree misery to his innocent creatures, beyond the value of their being; and that he can, for the sin of another, damn a great part of mankind, and make them unhappy forever. For he is a sovereign; and what proportion is there between him and us? May not he do with his creatures, as he pleases? Do we find fault with any in

our make, for killing a fly? Now, there is much greater disproportion between God and us, than there is between us and a fly. They, therefore, think that he may, as a sovereign, absolutely decree, and, in the course of his dominion, inflict, great distress and misery, and that upon the much greater part of his reasonable creatures, without any imputation upon his justice, wisdom, or goodness.'—Hunt's Sermons, Vol. II. pp. 112, 113.

So far from consenting in such views, he says a little further on;—

'We cannot conceive, that, when goodness induced him to give being, he should make that being worth nothing; nay, worse than nothing. For who would not prefer non-existence, to existing only as a foundation of all conceivable misery? To imagine that God, as a sovereign, should lay schemes to make the greatest part of his rational creation miserable forever, is to paint Deity in the most hideous and dreadful manner. We can never entertain such a notion of the power, or dominion of God. He cannot tempt any, neither can he be tempted. And to imagine that this sovereign, in the exercise of his moral government, should, in an irresistible manner, operate upon some, to bring them to a temper of happiness, and to design everlasting misery to the greater number, is to describe Deity in the most formidable view.'—Id. p. 115.

To a proper Calvinist a hundred years ago, all this must have sounded like the rankest heresy. The following extract from a sermon on the Unity of God, shows, also, that Dr Hunt had abandoned the popular notion of a trinity.

'However, since there is but one true God, and he the object of supreme worship, we may easily see the absurdity of a plurality of Gods, and of paying that homage to a variety of objects, which is due only to the supreme.

'And, if we take in a subordinate worship, yet, under the light of nature, or law of reason, there was nothing of this settled. And therefore it was altogether without ground. But now it is settled by revelation, let us keep close to the divine appointment.

'When we worship Christ, let us remember, that that worship should be terminated in the Father. For we worship Christ, as the son; as the lamb slain and put to death, and designed to be so, before the ages began to roll.

'As long as we keep close to the divine appointment, there is no reason to accuse us of idolatry; nor can such a charge be fixed upon us. For we worship the Father, by the son, and

through the spirit. And, when there is, in scripture, any instance of worship paid to the son, it is paid to him as the lamb of God, as the sent of the Father, and so ultimately paid to God.'

Hunt's Sermons, Vol. II. pp. 69, 70.

These were the religious opinions of the man whom Mr Hollis, after hearing him preach about fifteen years, calls 'a learned man, and a critical and just expositor of the holy scriptures.' As the ministers at Pinners' Hall, up to this time, had been strictly Calvinistic, we cannot wonder that the introduction of one of such different sentiments, occasioned a schism between the strictly Calvinistic members of the society, and the Liberal. Mr Hollis took sides warmly with the latter, as appears from his own account of the difficulty, in a letter to Dr Colman, just quoted.

'About 1707, Mr Jeremiah Hunt was chosen pastor, and by the grace of God, we continue our church state, and meet in the same place, through good report, and evil surmises. Our numbers have been small, some years, but we have walked in love, till lately some few have been made uneasy by a hot zeal without knowledge. Yet I hope shortly the innocency of the upright shall be manifested, and the slanderers be ashamed.'

It is remarkable, also, that not an expression escapes him, throughout his whole correspondence, implying the slightest distrust as to the soundness of Dr Hunt's views. On the contrary, he always speaks of him, not only as his minister, but as his confidential friend and adviser on all occasions, and particularly in regard to his religious charities, and the conditions on which they should be given.

The next important transaction, in which Mr Hollis took an active part, was the celebrated Salters' Hall controversy. The Dissenters had always complained of it, from the first, as an intolerable grievance, that the national church sought to impose on the conscience, human formularies of faith and worship. For some time, therefore, few among them could muster effrontery enough to recommend the adoption of the obnoxious principle in their own body, so that the minds of both ministers and people were left in a great measure free. Now it has always followed, we believe without a single exception, that wherever the minds of men have been left free to the simple teachings of scripture, they have gradually tended toward some form of Unitarianism; as in Geneva, in some parts of Germany, among the Irish Presbyterians, and the Congregationalists in this vicin-

ity. This tendency was obstructed for many years, in the case of the English Dissenters, partly by a strong Calvinistic bias, which they took as soon as Laud, and others of the High Church party, declared for Arminianism, and partly by the oppressions they underwent from the government, which left them neither time nor heart for any controversies but those that turned on their condition as Nonconformists, and made it madness for them to divide and destroy the little strength they had as a party, by dissensions among themselves. On the accession of the House of Hanover, juster principles of toleration began to prevail. Men began to think; and the consequence was, that the most intelligent and best educated among the Dissenting ministers soon began to observe an ominous silence in regard to the trinity, and other kindred doctrines. James Peirce of Exeter, who appears to have been a man of uncommon seriousness and piety from childhood; and had studied with great success at the foreign universities, was among the first to betray, in this quiet and unobtrusive manner, his dissatisfaction with the popular faith. This was provocation enough for the bigots, and such as wished to gain a reputation as champions of Orthodoxy, to sound an alarm in the churches, and put into circulation a thousand calumnies and vague surmises against him, alike inconsistent and unfounded. Some would have it, that he was a Jesuit in disguise, fresh from St Omers; others that he was probably a Deist, perhaps an Atheist, at heart, and merely pretended a respect for the scriptures, and the forms of Christianity, that he might have a better opportunity to insinuate his infidel principles. Others were content to call him an Arian; a term, which, like Socinian afterwards, and Unitarian now, conveyed no distinct idea to the Orthodox generally, but only that he was a monster. Many of Mr Peirce's neighbours and friends, who were known to speculate with him, were involved, of course, in the same condemnation, and a controversy arose, which led, as is usual in such cases, to mutual recriminations, and threatened a wide, lasting, and fatal schism. So great was the scandal, that one of the judges in the Western Circuit took notice of it, in his charges to the grand juries, as a matter of which they were to make inquest, a denial of the trinity being then accounted felony by the English law.*

* One or two extracts from pamphlets published in the *Arian Controversy*, as it has been called, will help our readers to form some notion of the temper

In this state of things, a Committee of the Three Denominations, with Lord Barrington at their head, drew up a 'Paper of Advices,' with a view, it would seem, to restore peace. These gentlemen recommended,

'1. That we should all of us, according to our several capacities and opportunities, and in a more especial manner those that are ministers of the Gospel of Peace, endeavour to allay all unreasonable jealousies concerning the sentiments and opinions of others, particularly ministers. That the christian principles of charity, and mutual forbearance should be promoted. That an intemperate degree of zeal in judging of the Christianity and sincerity of their brethren should be avoided; and that peace and love, which are the great characteristics of Christians, be as much as is possible obtained.

'2. If this method shall not be found effectual, but notwithstanding some Christians shall accuse others, or their own ministers, as not holding the christian faith, or as propagating opinions, which they conceive to be inconsistent with it; that no such accusation should be in the least regarded by ministers

in which religious discussions were conducted in those days. The following is from a pious effusion, without a name, bearing this title;—'Blasphemia Detestanda; or, a Caution against the Diabolism of Arius: a Letter from a Clergyman of the Country to his Brother in the City of Exon, touching the vile and wretched Arians, said to be starting up there.' It begins thus;—'My Dear Brother, it strikes me to the heart, to hear that any one man of your good city of Exon should be weary of the Catholic Faith; and that there should any man be found in it, that should be but so much as tempted to the wretched heresy of that base and vile miscreant Arius, whose bowels, like Judas, gushed out.'—'Whilst Romans ix. 5. stares them in the face, they must be conscious, and are so, very conscious; and, though shameless, yet full of secret shame, guilt, and misgivings. For besides scripture, all the determinations of Fathers, Councils, and Creeds, are against them, in all ages of Christianity. But, to their diabolical and hellish shame, I am told, they have the daring impudence and infidelity to pish away all these.'

Thomas Bradbury, the leader of the Exclusionists, was not ashamed to put his name to the following passage in a letter to Lord Barrington;—'I begin with that witty author the writer of the Synod, and shall very soon have done with him; for several of the ministers whom he admires for their generous management, p. 6, did openly call him a rascal, and a villain. "He saith, he loves to be free in his faith," which may be true enough for ought I know, for he is not very free of it; and it would be hard upon him to believe what everybody else does; for if his faith runs in the common stream, he must believe himself to be a coxcomb. Just as much a wit as he is a Christian; one whose pen is as great a prostitute as the press from whence his book came, that is fit to publish any error, and any scandal. He is very fawning on a truly Reverend Prelate, and then on you, whom in his accurate way, he calls a Lay-Gentleman, lest any one should take you for a Clergy-Gentleman. But I pity both the bishop and yourself, that you lie under the dirt of his commendations. For, if you do but consider where he throws his

or others, to whom application shall be made for advice on such occasions, unless two or more persons shall subscribe their names to such accusation, as plainly and openly accusing, and being ready to support and justify such accusation. That by this means all private insinuations, tending to give scandal, may be avoided, and proceedings may be had in that open and sincere way which the gospel prescribes.

'3. That when there is a proper accusation made, and duly supported as aforesaid, the person accused should be first privately admonished, before the matter be brought under the examination of any public assembly, or the person accused put under the necessity of publicly defending himself.

'4. If at last any shall be called to so difficult a work as that of judging the faith of their brethren, and determining their title to the name of Christians, their capacity of being members of christian churches, and their hopes of salvation, we assure ourselves they will, in a matter of so great moment, adhere steadfastly to the Protestant principle; will make use of no human decisions, human forms, or compositions either to torture or condemn their christian brethren. That they will think nothing but the plain and express declarations of holy scripture, a sufficient authority to justify their condemning any, as not holding the faith necessary to salvation; and that in so awful a

contempt, you will wonder that he should admire anything that is not scandalous; and I fear, people that read him will be ready to ask, what my Lord of Bangor and Mr Barrington have done against Christianity, to deserve the flatteries of a stupid Atheist?'—Answer to the Reproaches cast on the Dissenting Ministers, &c. pp. 4, 5.

A single extract will suffice as a specimen of the humor, with which the Orthodox were sometimes met by the other party. It is taken from the preface to an answer to a feeble, but very popular tract in defence of the trinity;—'The sheet I have undertaken to correct, has given many men or women, I do not doubt, a great deal of pleasure, (for it had passed seven editions before I read it,) and never gave anybody any pain. But that is no argument, it was not capable of doing any mischief, however innocent the author may be. If a man offers at argument, without reviling, let it be as weak as it will, since there are others, as weak as the author, who may fancy it is all gospel, because they see so many proofs, as they use to call chapter and verse, how miserably soever mistaken, and how widely soever applied, I cannot think it altogether needless to bestow an answer on him; for if his performance does not deserve one, it may, however, need it.

'Everything except truth contributed to make it spread; viz. The price, which was but 12s. an hundred; the number of Arguments, no less than fifty, enough for the money, if people had any conscience, supposing they had no judgment; and the multitude of those to whom they were adapted.

'I am too well acquainted with the vulgar, who only can need any help to answer such arguments as these, to expect so fair a hearing; for I know there are seven who would lay out 2d. in fifty arguments, to prove what they are resolved never to doubt of, to one who will lay out 6d. when he knows it is only to see himself confuted.'—Plain and full Answer to an Anonymous Pamphlet, &c. Preface.

case as judging the servants of our common Lord and Master they will, we doubt not, act as those who expect his appearance.'

The Arians asked no more than was here conceded, and for this reason the paper was opposed by some in the Committee, but was finally passed. To give it more influence and authority, it was submitted for the approbation of the whole body of Dissenting ministers, in and about London, convened for that purpose at Salters' Hall, February 19, 1719. The Exclusionists objected to the Advices altogether; but this did not prevent the meeting from proceeding to take up the consideration of them, article by article. At an adjournment, February 24, some of the more violent among the Orthodox interrupted the regular business by moving that there should be introduced in some part of the Advices, 'a declaration of faith in the holy trinity.' A warm debate ensued, and when the question was taken, fiftythree voted in the affirmative, and fiftyseven in the negative. The Liberal party triumphed in the first convocation or assembly of divines, since the times of the apostles, it was said, which had carried a question for liberty.

The part which Mr Hollis took in this controversy, and his opinion of the conduct of those concerned in it, we shall give in his own words, in a letter to Dr Colman, dated March 1, 1721.

* I send you herewith Dr Mather's* letters, which have been made use of to continue our divisions. I presume to think that he has not had a true state of our Salters' Hall differences, else he would not suggest such things therein contained against his brethren, who love the Lord Jesus, and him for Christ's sake—so contrary to that Catholic charity he expressed in the printed sermon preached at Mr Callender's ordination. I thought Mr Watts and Mr Neal, the former [latter?] of which lived nine or ten years in my family, by their letters had set things in a better light. I do heartily forgive him, so far as I am concerned. I own myself to have been one of the Committee, called of the Three Denominations, who met many times about drawing up the Paper of Advices to our friends at Exeter for peace, and I cannot yet see reason to repent any paragraph therein contained; though I own, when it was near finished, from the carriage of a few in the Committee, I moved and urged it should

* Dr Cotton Mather, of Boston, to whom the whole affair had been misrepresented, probably by two of the most active among the disorganizers, Walrond and Bradbury, with whom he is understood to have corresponded.

be dropped, and not sent to Salters' Hall, fearing divisions from the temper of a few ; which indeed fell out so, greatly exceeding my fears. I believe all the gentlemen concerned in signing the letter, of whom I was one of the meanest in character, were very far from any plot against the honor of our Lord Jesus, whom we believe God over all blessed forever. But if it must be called a plot, it was to restrain a few overheated zealots from too much censuring their brethren. And to look back, I think had there not been a majority against subscribing the roll at Salters' Hall, at that time, such a test would have run through all the churches in England by this time, which would have endangered many schisms, and silenced many useful preachers ; and I rejoice their plot did not succeed.'

In politics Mr Hollis, with the Dissenters generally, was a staunch Whig. The only family of much consideration in public life, with which he appears to have associated on terms of intimacy, was that of the Shutes, and particularly with John, the youngest brother, afterwards created Viscount Lord Barrington, who seems to have been his oracle on all occasions, and he could hardly have had a better. Swift gives the following character of him, writing in 1708 to Archbishop King ;— 'One Mr Shute is named for secretary to Lord Wharton. He is a young man, but reckoned the shrewdest head in England, and the person in whom the Presbyterians chiefly confide ; and if money be necessary towards the good work,* it is reckoned he can command as far as one hundred thousand pounds from the body of the Dissenters here. As to his principles, he is a moderate man, frequenting the Church and the Meeting indifferently.' He first distinguished himself at the age of twentyfour, by important services rendered the Whig ministry of Anne in bringing over the Scotch Presbyterians to favor the projected union of the two kingdoms. All his prospects of advancement, however, were soon blasted by the disastrous change in the administration, which brought the Tories into power. The black and portentous cloud which hung over the interests of civil and religious liberty, and the Protestant succession, during the last years of this misguided queen, was broken and dispersed by her death, August 1, 1714, the very day on which the Schism Bill, one of the most unrighteous and oppressive acts passed against the Dissenters, was to go

* Probably the repeal of the Sacramental Tests.

into effect.* At the accession of George I. the Whigs were on their feet again, and Mr Shute came in for his share of honors and responsibilities, and in 1720 was created Baron Barrington, of Newcastle, and Viscount Barrington, of Ardglass. His expulsion from the House of Commons, in 1723, in consequence of his connexion with the Harburgh Company, as sub-governor under the Prince of Wales, is no reflection on his character, as it was clearly an act of violence and injustice, into which the House was hurried by the public exasperation at the bursting of one of the bubbles of the day.

Lord Barrington was accounted one of the best informed theologians of his time; and not without reason, as is proved by his principal work, *Miscellanea Sacra*, which is said to have shaken the infidelity of Anthony Collins. The great excellence of his writings, however, consists in the noble spirit of liberty which they everywhere breathe, and in the able and earnest

* We shall be excused for throwing into a note a passage on this subject, taken from a work seldom met with in this country, as it illustrates strikingly the state of feeling among the Dissenters at that time. We have had occasion to mention Mr Bradbury more than once, and never in very favorable terms. Here he appears in a character somewhat different;—The gloomy state of public affairs, in consequence of the intrigues that were carried on in favor of the Pretender, excited in all true Protestants the most dismal apprehensions for the safety of the nation, when to their unspeakable joy, the storm suddenly blew over by the death of the queen, after a short illness, on Sunday, August the 1st, 1714. On that very morning, as we are informed, while Mr Bradbury was walking along Smithfield, in a pensive condition, Bishop Burnet happened to pass through in his carriage; and observing his friend, called out to him by name, and inquired the cause of his great thoughtfulness. "I am thinking," replies Mr Bradbury, "whether I shall have the constancy and resolution of that noble company of martyrs, whose ashes are deposited in this place; for I most assuredly expect to see similar times of violence and persecution, and that I shall be called to suffer in a like cause." The bishop, who was himself equally zealous in the Protestant cause, endeavoured to quiet his fears; told him that the queen was very ill; that she was given over by her physicians, who expected every hour to be her last; and that he was then going to the court to inform himself as to the exact particulars. He moreover assured Mr Bradbury that he would dispatch a messenger to him with the earliest intelligence of the Queen's death; and that if he should happen to be in the pulpit when the messenger arrived, he should be instructed to drop a handkerchief from the gallery, as a token of that event. It so happened that the queen died while Mr Bradbury was preaching, and the intelligence was communicated to him by the signal agreed upon. It need hardly be mentioned what joy the news gave him. He, however, suppressed his feelings during the sermon; but in his last prayer returned thanks to God for the deliverance of these kingdoms from the evil counsels and designs of their enemies, and implored the Divine blessing upon his majesty, King George, and the House of Hanover. He then gave out the 89th psalm, from Patrick's collection, which was strikingly appropriate to the occasion. Mr Bradbury ever afterwards gloried in being the first man who proclaimed King George the First.—Wilson's Dissenting Churches, vol. iii. pp. 512-514.

defences they contain of free inquiry, and in the indignation they express against all attempts to restrain it, whether by the civil magistrate, ecclesiastics, or the mob. He was the acknowledged head of the Liberal party in the *Salters' Hall* controversy; and the *Paper of Advices*, most of which has been inserted above, is understood to have been from his pen, written with a view to skreen the Arians and Sabellians. He is also understood to have been the author of one or two other anonymous publications at the time, which gave great offence to the strictly Orthodox. For some time he attended Mr Bradbury's preaching at Fetter Lane, but left him at last, being disgusted with his exclusiveness and bigotry on the doctrine of the trinity, and became a hearer of Dr Hunt.

Mr Hollis's connexion and intimacy with this nobleman supposes him to have held the same liberal sentiments, and must have strengthened and confirmed him in these sentiments. The interest he felt in the whole family, led him, also, to espouse warmly the cause of Lord Barrington's brother, Governor Shute, in his misunderstandings with the House of Representatives at Boston, and the Province generally. The administration of this gentleman was inauspicious and stormy from first to last, and the condition and prospects of the Province were never more truly deplorable. Menaced on the frontier by the Indians, vexed and torn by civil dissensions, the currency depreciated to less than one half its nominal value, many of the new settlements breaking up and falling in, and all these causes conspiring to ruin trade and deprave the morals of the people—this was the melancholy state of affairs from 1716, when Colonel Shute assumed the reins of government, to 1723, when he suddenly quitted the country in disgust, and went home to England to make known his grievances, and obtain redress, and return with new powers. He never returned, though it appears from Mr Hollis's letters, that about four years afterwards he was on the eve of doing it, and had proceeded so far as to send over a part of his furniture. The following extract of a letter, which Mr Hollis wrote to Dr Colman, March 1, 1727, expresses the opinions entertained by him, Mr Neal, and other friends of New England, in the mother country;—

'The occasion of my present letter, is to acquaint you that your governor, Col. Shute, did me the honor of a visit yesterday,

and dined with me. He expresses his purpose and resolution of returning to his government this summer, with King George's letter of instructions, and recommending of him to your Council and Assembly, to allow him a suitable provision for to maintain the expenses of his post; not less than one thousand pounds sterling per annum, and your paper credit valued to him at the price the merchants fix the course of exchange.

'I know he has a great opinion of your sincerity and affections to serve him, and will listen to your advice. Suffer me to offer my thoughts in the affair. Do you counsel him on his arrival as the old men did Rehoboam, 1 Kings, xii. 7, and I wish he may take the advice. He has been banished, as it were, from you, about four years, and many uneasy resentments have filled his mind, from Cooke and some others, together with but mean circumstances for a gentleman wearing such a commission. If your rulers receive him returning in love, and carry it with respect due to the governor, and duty to King George, you will be the happiest people of any of his Majesty's colonies or islands in America. But if you disregard the king's letter, and treat him unkindly, as they formerly did, I cannot answer for consequences; but I believe your children, not to say the gentlemen now in power, will hereafter repent it.

'Pray do not expose my letter to public talk. If you can make any good use of the caution for good to the community, do it. It is amazing to some of us here, when we think New England the richest and most numerous people of the American provinces the English possess, yet should maintain their governor in the meanest manner of them all.'

The hostility to the governor was grounded on the demand which he made, according to his instructions, for a fixed and independent support. This the House of Representatives did right to refuse, but there was no excuse for continuing to grant him only the same nominal sum of one thousand pounds *per annum*, after the depreciation in the currency had reduced this in value to three hundred and sixty pounds sterling, certainly a mean and inadequate provision. The younger Cooke, alluded to in the letter, was one of the most active and implacable of the governor's opponents, and followed him to England, to fight out the battle there, as the agent of the Province. While in London he had several interviews with Mr Hollis, though, as might be expected, it was not with much cordiality on either side; but the account we have of their conversation at one of these meetings is interesting, as it shows, that even then, the

question had been started respecting the non-residence of the College Corporation. Mr Hollis writes;—

‘Mr Cooke, your agent, and his son, did me the honor to visit me at my house last week, and we discoursed of your state, and of your College. He tells me that your College is in a very bad state and condition; and the Corporation ought to be of resident Fellows; that the gentlemen non-resident are as worthy persons as the country affords, or could be chosen, but by their living at a distance cannot attend the good of the House as were to be desired; and you cannot alter it, or increase the number of your Corporation without hazard of the whole; that the wisest men in Boston had thoroughly examined it, and himself also, who seems to understand your constitution very well.’

The charities, public and private, in which Mr Hollis abounded, give him his principal claims on our notice and respect. He distributed largely among the poor in his neighbourhood, in the distress occasioned by a succession of severe winters. He made frequent and liberal donations to the Dissenting churches in England and Wales, especially, though not exclusively, to those of his own persuasion. Several young men of promise and sobriety among the Baptists, who afterwards became eminent, were indebted to him for the means of an education on the continent, the universities at home being barred against them. He contributed his full proportion to build up the Sheffield hospital, an institution already mentioned as founded and endowed by the family. He was also active and liberal in his aid of the societies for the propagation of the gospel in the Highlands, and in this country. We have just adverted to these charities, because they ought to be considered in making up an estimate of the character of Hollis; but our attention is called more particularly to what he did for Harvard College.

It appears that Robert Thorner left several legacies for charitable purposes, and among the rest one for Harvard College, and appointed his nephew, Mr Hollis, one of the trustees. When Dr Increase Mather and his son were in London in 1690, Mr Hollis gave them a minute of his uncle’s will, but told them that it would be many years before the bequest would become due, and intimated that they might possibly hear from him sooner. His first letter bears date March 2, 1719, and is addressed ‘To Mr Increase Mather, formerly President of Harvard College, or to the Gentleman who is now President thereof.’ It contained an invoice of twelve casks of nails and one cask of

cutlery, consigned to John Gilbert and Co., of Boston, with an order to pay over the proceeds of the same for the use of the College. This was the way in which Mr Hollis often made his remittances, sending over nails, cutlery, and arms, which were sold to such advantage, that the College commonly received for what cost one hundred pounds sterling in London, about three hundred pounds New England currency. All that he seems to have contemplated at this time, was the foundation of ten scholarships, the incumbents of which were to receive ten pounds each, annually, in the money of this country. The students who availed themselves of this charity, were to be those intended for the ministry. None were to be rejected merely because they were of the Baptist persuasion. He reserved to himself the right of confirming, or not, those whom the Corporation should recommend, and conjured them, again and again, to beware of recommending 'rakes and dunces.'

Having begun to assist the College, his concern for its welfare and general prosperity increased daily, and led to a correspondence with President Leverett, and Dr Colman, on the subject. On its being proposed to him by the former to found a Divinity Professorship, he expressed his surprise that this had not been provided for before, but took the motion into consideration, thinking it, as he said, 'a particular call of Providence.' Accordingly, in 1721, he sent over his proposition to establish the first professorship in the College, and we suppose in the country; fixing his yearly stipend at eighty pounds, New England currency, and agreeing to remit the necessary funds, to be invested here. In drawing up the rules and statutes of the new foundation he was aided by hints and sketches from his American correspondents, to which he refers, August 8, in the following extract from a letter to Dr Colman.

'I have consulted several worthy pastors of churches here, who have studied abroad, as at Edinburgh, Utrecht, Leyden, and are acquainted with the Professors of Divinity's works there; and these gentlemen express a great respect to, and concern for, your University, and would willingly lend any advice they can for your advantage. I have desired them to make some little alterations in your scheme, and some remarks, as their reasons for so doing, which, when finished, I shall send unto you for your more mature consideration; believing you and they have nothing in view herein, but furthering the glory of God, promoting good literature, the knowledge of theology, and the well

understanding of the sacred scriptures. May the Lord, the Spirit of Truth, say, Amen.'

The promised document soon followed, which, as it has never been published in its original form, we shall give entire. It seems to have been prepared by Dr Hunt, as it is in his handwriting, except the words *Italicised*, which are in the handwriting of Mr Neal.

'RULES AND ORDERS PROPOSED RELATING TO A DIVINITY
PROFESSOR IN HARVARD COLLEGE, IN NEW ENGLAND.

'I. That the Professor be a Master of Arts, and in communion with some Christian Church of one of the three denominations, Congregational, Presbyterian, or Baptist.

'N. B. This agrees with the scheme which was sent from New England, approved by the Rev. the President and the Corporation.

'II. That his province be to instruct the students in the several parts of Theology, by reading a system of positive, and a course of controversial divinity, beginning always with a short prayer.

'We apprehend this article to be of the last importance. The want of a Professor, whose *only* work shall be to make the students *masters* of Divinity, is justly complained of in English Universities, and wisely rectified in the Universities of Edinburgh, and all the foreign Universities we are acquainted with. It will consequently turn to the great advantage of the students to be thus *regularly* instructed in the several parts of Theology without *intermission*, after they have been three or four years in the College; and we are apprehensive it will become very easy to the Professor after he has set in his chair a year or two.

'III. That the said Professor read his private lectures of positive or controversial divinity, so many times in the week as shall finish both courses within the term of one year.

'The Professors in the Universities of Holland, read four times a week on a system, and four times a week on the controversies; such lectures not exceeding three quarters of an hour. The first quarter is spent in examining the students on the heads of the last lecture; then the Professor proceeds, always taking care to finish both his system and course of controversial divinity within the compass of a year. An hour in the morning is generally employed in the system on Mondays, Thursdays and

Fridays, and an hour on the same days in the afternoon, in the controversies; by which means the Professors have two days in the week entire to themselves, and by finishing all in one year, an opportunity is given for new students to enter every year, and the seniors may go over the course with the Professor two or three times, which will be a great advantage; nor will this be at all difficult to the Professor, when he has gone over it once or twice.

‘IV. That the Professor read publicly twice a week in the Hall on Church History, Jewish Antiquities, Cases of Conscience, or Critical Exposition of Scripture, &c., as he shall judge proper. Times of vacation always excepted.

‘This agrees with the New England scheme. We conceive that though it is impossible these public lectures should answer the ends of regular instruction, which is the most necessary to make the students masters of Theology, and fit them for the pulpit, or chair, any more than the preaching two sermons weekly in the pulpit can be thought sufficient to fit all the hearers for the pulpit, yet since they are performed in all our Universities, they are not to be omitted. Give us leave, however, to observe to you, that notwithstanding the several Universities we have had any knowledge of, have laid the strictest injunctions on the Professors to study these lectures, yet in some time they have been generally neglected, and have dwindled into little else than form. We take the liberty to mention Critical Exposition of Scripture, Church History, Jewish Antiquities, &c., that the Professor may give to the students of Divinity as large and extensive a view as can be of every part of learning which is proper to enter into the character of a finished divine.

‘V. That the Professor set apart two or three hours one afternoon in the week, to answer such questions of the students who shall apply to him, as refer to the system or controversies of religion, or laws of conscience, or seeming contradictions in Scripture.

‘This agrees to the New England scheme, and we are informed the Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, allots two or three hours every Thursday in the afternoon to this work; times of vacation excepted.

‘VI. That the Professor of Divinity (while in that office), shall not be a tutor in any other science, or obliged to any other attendance in the College than the abovementioned public and private lectures.

'This will make the Professor's work as easy at least, if not more easy, than the rest of the Tutors.

'VII. That the Professor read his private lectures, to such only as are at least of two years' standing in the College.

'This is intended to remedy an evil too common in most places. When students upon their first coming to the University are encouraged to enter on the study of Divinity, they neglect all preparatory studies, and very often enter on the sacred ministry before they are qualified; whereas by keeping them from the constant and regular study of Theology for the first two or three years, you employ them necessarily in other parts of literature, and effectually prevent their going into the pulpit till they are at least of four years standing. It is not intended by this article to debar the students of divinity from attending on any of the lectures of other tutors, but only that they now begin to make Theology their chief study.

'VIII. That an honorable salary being provided for the Professor, it is expected that he require no fee from any of the students for their instruction.

'This agrees with the New England scheme. But if any gentleman desires his son may run through a course of divinity, it does not hinder the parent from making the Professor a present; though the Professor is debarred from requiring anything of such person.

'IX. That the said Professor be chosen every five years, by the Rev. President and Fellows of the College for the time being, and be presented by them, when chosen, to the Honorable and Reverend Overseers, to be by them approved and confirmed in his place.*

'This agrees with the New England scheme.

'X. That the said Professor be at all times under the inspection of the Reverend the President and Fellows, with the Honorable and Reverend the Overseers, for the time being, to be by them displaced, for any just and valuable cause.

'This agrees with the New England scheme.

'XI. That it be recommended to the electors, that at every choice they prefer a man of solid learning in divinity, of sound or orthodox principles; one who is well gifted to teach; of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation.

*This article was afterwards altered, by consent of Mr Hollis, so as to dispense with the necessity of quinquennial re-elections. Slight changes were also made in the phraseology of some of the other articles.

'These Rules and Orders relating to a Divinity Professor in Harvard College, in New England, were drawn up at the request of Mr Thomas Hollis, and are unanimously recommended by us, as necessary to answer his useful design.'

DANIEL NEAL,
W. HARRIS,
JER. HUNT,
JOSH. OLDFIELD, D. D.
MOSES LOWMAN,
EDW. WALLIN,
ARTHUR SHALLETT.

'London, August 22, 1721.'

It will help us to ascertain the meaning and intended bearing of any ambiguous words and phrases in this paper, if we know the religious sentiments of the clergymen by whom it was subscribed, and unanimously recommended. We do not find the name of Daniel Neal among those who voted on the trial question at Salters' Hall, and it appears that he, Dr Watts, and others of the same stamp, were not present at the meeting, or, which is more probable, that they soon left it, being disgusted at the violence of some of the speakers. He was the well known author of the History of the Puritans, and perhaps it would be difficult to find in the whole compass of English literature, a more earnest and disinterested advocate of civil and religious liberty. This he carried so far, that, though inclined to Calvinism himself, he was opposed, in all cases, to the application of tests of human device in matters of conscience, even the test of a party name. He married a cousin of Mr Hollis's, and lived several years, it would seem, in his family.

Dr William Harris was an active and leading member of the Liberal party at Salters' Hall. He was the intimate friend of Lardner, who preached a funeral sermon on his death, in which he speaks of him in terms of the highest respect and veneration. Dr Grosvenor, who preached another sermon on the same occasion, says;—'To me he seemed to be of no party. Men might call him by what name they pleased; he was fond of no denomination but that of a Christian.'

We have spoken at length of Dr Hunt's character and religious opinions in another place.

It is enough to say of Dr Oldfield, that he was moderator of the Salters' Hall Assembly, and continued to preside at all their meetings after the strictly Orthodox had seceded. In

regard to the trinity, he seems to have adhered in general to the same sentiments, or at least to the same language, in which he was educated ; but he was very far from confining his charity, or his friendship, to those who could go along with him in his speculations on this disputed dogma. 'He was of no party,' says Dr Harris, who preached his funeral sermon, 'but that of God against the devil, and of all serious Christians.'

Moses Lowman was one of the profoundest scholars of his age, particularly in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. He was remarkable for following out original investigations, and abiding by the results, careless whether they accorded, or not, with received opinions ; and he was the last man on earth to withhold from others the liberty he asserted for himself. His views of Jesus Christ may be gathered from Three Tracts on the Shekinah and Logos, written by him, and published a few years after his death, with an original Preface, by Dr Chandler and Dr Lardner. It will be recollected that this work suggested the leading position in the interesting and valuable Letters of Mr Upham on the Logos, who has clearly shown that Lowman's principles and results, distinctly stated, become simple Unitarianism.

Edward Wallin is the only one among the signers, who voted with the Exclusionists in the Salters' Hall controversy. He was a Baptist minister in London, and was indebted to this circumstance, probably, more than to anything else, for whatever he enjoyed of Mr Hollis's intimacy and confidence. It is remarkable that Mr Hollis associated generally with the Presbyterians and Independents, probably because they were better educated and more liberal ; but as he was a Baptist himself, it would not do to exclude altogether the ministers of his own denomination.

Nothing is known of Arthur Shallett, but that he divided with the Liberal party at Salters' Hall.

From these slight notices it appears, that of the seven who subscribed and recommended the Rules and Orders, all but Wallin had declared themselves for liberality and catholicism ; a majority were opposed to tests in any shape, even to the test of a party name ; and probably two of them, at least, at the time of signing their names, were Unitarians, and one of these drew up the instrument. We subjoin the declaration, which the professor was required to make on entering the office, copied *verbatim* from a paper in Mr Hollis's own handwriting,

addressed to the President and Fellows. It is important as evincing the construction which Mr Hollis himself put on the Rules and Orders; for if his object had been to provide that his professors, in all future time, should hold any one of the controverted doctrines among Christians, the trinity, for example, this was the place in which to insist on its recognition and acknowledgement.

'A Plan of a Form for the Professor of Divinity to agree to at his Inauguration.'

'That he repeat his oaths to the civil government.

'That he declare it as his belief that the bible is the only, and most perfect rule of faith and manners; and that he promise to explain and open the scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness, according to the best light that God shall give him.

'That he promise to promote true piety and godliness by his example and instruction.

'That he consult the good of the College, and the peace of the churches, on all occasions, and—

'That he religiously observe the statutes of his Founder.

'Signed by me, THOMAS HOLLIS.'

After this, one can hardly repress his indignation at the following entry in the records of the Overseers, which was ordered to be made January 24, 1722, when the question was taken on consenting with the Corporation in the choice of Edward Wigglesworth, the first professor. We insert it, however, because it shows how different the declaration, as prescribed by Mr Hollis, would have been, if he had had a tythe of the bigotry and exclusiveness of the New England clergy at that time, or if he had intended, like them, to exclude Arminians and Unitarians. It shows, also, that those were not days in which professors were permitted to believe in creeds, and catechisms, and other books, 'for substance,'—a mysterious phrase, the precise import of which has never been given—but were expected, as Dr South would say, to swallow them whole. Requiring Mr Wigglesworth to assent to 'the divine right of infant baptism,' seems almost like a studied insult to the known sentiments of the generous and liberal-minded benefactor, who was endeavouring to raise them from beggary.

'Ordered, by the Overseers, that a minute be taken and recorded of the several heads in divinity, upon which the Corporation examined Mr Wigglesworth; viz.

'That he approved before the Corporation, and declared his assent,

'I. To Dr Ames's *Medulla Theologiæ* ;

'II. To the Confession of Faith contained in the Assembly's Catechism ;

'III. To the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England ; more particularly,

'1. To the doctrine of the Holy Trinity ;

'2. To the doctrine of the eternal Godhead of the blessed Saviour ;

'3. To the doctrine of predestination ;

'4. To the doctrine of special efficacious grace ;

'5. To the divine right of infant baptism.'

It is but justice to the Government of the College to say, that this outrage on the will and spirit of the founder of the professorship has never been repeated. We may also observe, in this connexion, that all the successors of Dr Wigglesworth, are understood to have departed more or less from strict Calvinism.*

* Even the elder Wigglesworth made, after all, but a sorry Calvinist. He was the author of one of the ablest and most successful publications against the revival fever in the time of Whitefield. In 1763 he published 'The Doctrine of Reprobation briefly considered ; being the Substance of some Lectures in Harvard College ;' part of the concluding paragraph of which runs thus ;—'And yet all this does not hinder, but that far the bigger part of those who attain the mercy of God unto eternal life, may have been chosen to it, upon a foresight, not of their faith and repentance, but of their diligent improvement of the means of grace, and earnest prayer for the aids of God's Holy Spirit. And so notwithstanding anything in the decrees of God, there may be a certain connexion between striving to enter in at the strait gate, and admission into it.'

This roused the slumbering Calvinism of the Province against the backsliders at Cambridge ; and, as usually happens in such cases, some were grieved, some were angry, and some affected to be one or the other, or both, as would best promote their interest or popularity. Dr Wigglesworth wrote a defence of the obnoxious passage in a letter to a neighbouring clergyman, which has never been printed ; but the manuscript is now before us, prefaced with some remarks by Dr Wigglesworth's son, who succeeded him in the divinity chair ;—'When my father,' says he, 'had written the following letter, vindicating the passage excepted against, he at several times expressed his desire that it might be made public. After he had published his discourse on Reprobation, he had a mind that the public should be acquainted with his thoughts on the ground of particular election. But as his sentiments on this head were something different from those commonly received, and as he was in the decline of life, he was discouraged from making the publication, lest, in the eye of the world, he should resemble an old man giving a challenge to a combat, after he had lost the strength and vigor of his body.'

'One or two days before my father's death, I inquired of him whether he had any directions to leave relating to his manuscripts. He replied,

The first distinct notice which Mr Hollis gave of his intention to found a professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, is found in a letter to Dr Colman, January, 1726. All eyes were immediately turned on Isaac Greenwood, who had been graduated at the College in 1721, as the most promising candidate for this office; and a visit to England about this time enabled him to qualify himself more perfectly for the expected appointment. Mr Hollis saw him frequently while abroad, and afforded him all the facilities in his power, but did not attempt to conceal from his American correspondents his dissatisfaction from the first, with many things in the manners and conduct of the young traveller. Unquestionably a man of genius and learning, he was also eccentric, improvident, and fond of display; and, to crown all, having contracted heavy debts in London, which he had no means of paying, he absconded, and returned home by the way of Lisbon. A letter, which Mr Hollis wrote soon afterwards to Dr Colman, shows that the patron was not very proud of his *protégé*.

‘I take notice what you and others write concerning Mr Greenwood; and read in your Gazette of his designed lectures in Mathematics for this winter; and of some of you admitting

that he should have been glad to have published the following letter, had a suitable occasion presented. I told him that I had once transcribed it, and could do it again. Upon which he gave me the liberty of publishing it.

‘A fear of lessening my usefulness, in the opinion of a number of valuable gentlemen, in the station in which the providence of God hath placed me, hath prevented my making the publication. But that my father’s sentiments may be fully known, and impartially weighed by the sons of the College, I have carefully transcribed it for the public library.’

These statements, and two or three passages which we shall give from the manuscript letter itself, make it probable that the first professor on Mr Hollis’s foundation, at his death, differed about as much from the popular theology of the time being, as the present incumbent.

‘If it be further objected, that one who is not born again of the spirit, cannot strive, and pray to God for help, from any better principle than self-love, I answer, that though this is not the only, nor the best principle that we should act from; yet, so far as it is well directed, it is a good principle; a principle which God himself hath implanted in our natures on purpose to excite us to pursue our best interests, and which, therefore, ought to have its influence on the best of men, as it had on our blessed Lord himself, when, for the joy which was set before him, he endured the cross, despising the shame. Heb. xii. 2. Now, if there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, why may we not think that every tendency to repentance is so far pleasing, as it proceeds from a good principle, though it be not the only principle, nor the best, from which it should proceed?’

‘But it may be said, that unregenerated persons are out of Christ; whereas, it is in and through him only, that we can be accepted. To

him to preach, which I think was very hasty. However, I shall forbear telling hearsays of him to you, or him, or others, wishing his future carriage may be sober, religious, diligent, and becoming his profession and calling. And if the Corporation shall be unanimous in electing him, and recommending him to me, I think I shall accept him as my professor.'

Mr Greenwood was inaugurated in 1728. A fact is disclosed in Mr Hollis's correspondence, which makes his readiness to comply with the wishes of the Corporation in this appointment, a work of uncommon magnanimity. After he had begun to suspect Mr Greenwood's unfitness for the place, he suggested another candidate; a gentleman whom he had himself assisted in pursuing his studies on the continent, and who could bring the most flattering testimonials from the first scholars in Europe. But then he was a Baptist, of the same denomination with Mr Hollis himself, and this was an insuperable objection. The proposal was rejected instantly, peremptorily, almost rudely.

In addition to the funds remitted for the support of two professorships, Mr Hollis expended considerable sums in purchasing books for the library, and a philosophical apparatus; and not satisfied with giving, himself, he importuned others, and in this way procured many valuable contributions. Most of the books

which I answer, that though it be only when we are in Christ that we are in a state of complete acceptance, yet a sense of our sinful and miserable state, and of our need of God's grace and spirit to help us out of it, and our earnest desires and prayers to God for them, are as to the matter of them good; they proceed from a good principle, a principle, which (as hath been already observed), God hath implanted in us on purpose to prompt us to seek our own eternal happiness, and they are agreeable to the will of God, which is our sanctification, and who commandeth all men, everywhere, to repent. Now, since a converted state is acceptable to God through Jesus Christ, why may not all the tendencies and preparation to it be thought in some measure acceptable also—the degrees of acceptance being proportioned to the difference which there is between the preparation to this state, and the perfection of it?

'Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded that no sinner will be able to plead at the last day, Lord, I would have repented of my sins, believed in thee, and obeyed thy gospel, but I was destitute of strength sufficient for these things. I knew that thy grace was sufficient for me, and that thou hadst said, Ask, and ye shall receive; and therefore I earnestly implored those assistances of thine Holy Spirit, without which I could do nothing to any effectual purpose for myself, but they were withheld from me. Instead of this, I believe that the conscience of every sinner at that day will justify the Judge, and condemn his own negligence and folly; and that it will appear to be a day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.'—Professor Wigglesworth's MS. Letter, pp. 32-34.

presented by him were theological, selected expressly for this object by Dr Hunt; and the general character of some of them, at least, may be guessed by what he writes in regard to a single parcel;—

‘I have expectation of another parcel of books to send by this or next shipping; and if there happen to be some books not quite orthodox, in search after truth with an honest design, do not be afraid of them. A public library ought to be furnished, if they can, with *con*, as well as *pro*, that students may read, try, judge, see for themselves, and believe upon argument and just reasonings of scripture. “Thus saith Aristotle,” “Thus saith Calvin,” will not now pass for proof in our London disputations.’ *

// The last years of Mr Hollis were occupied almost exclusively in deeds of public and private charity; the tranquil and serene evening of a well-spent life. He died January 22, 1731. The words of Professor Greenwood, in this connexion, are appropriate and beautiful;—

‘As in the vegetable kingdom, it is with a superior pleasure and expectation, that we consider the revival of such plants as have always been distinguished by the plenty and delicacy of their fruit; so with earnest desires and hopes we should wait for the day, when we shall behold the resurrection of such as have distinguished themselves by acts of charity and bounty.’—

Philosophical Discourse, p. 22.

The slight and scattered notices which we have collected of the subject of this memoir, give the prominent traits in his character. Our information is not sufficiently minute to enable us to do much to fill up the outline. He had a competent knowledge of Latin and French, and wrote his own language with as much correctness and facility as most of the divines of

* The books and philosophical apparatus sent over by Mr Hollis were destroyed at the burning of Harvard Hall, on the night of January 24, 1764. The fire is supposed to have begun in a beam under the hearth of the library, which had been used the day before by the General Court, in session there because of the small pox then in Boston. The night was tempestuous, a snow storm attended with high wind; and, it being vacation, only two or three students were in their rooms, and these so situated, that they did not discover the fire until the flames had gained such head as to defy all opposition. Above six thousand volumes were consumed, comprising, among the rest, the whole library of Dr Lightfoot, the library of Dr Theophilus Gale, several theological works presented by Bishop Sherlock, and the Latin and Greek Classics, presented by Bishop Berkley.

that day. He appears to have carried the exact and methodical habits of a merchant into all his affairs, and annoyed the Government of the College incessantly with complaints about their loose way of doing business. He was plain and downright in his manners, and sometimes, it would seem, a little testy.* In order to act on his vanity, and induce him to give still more largely, the College Government, and the General Court, as well as private individuals, plied him with compliments and flattery; but he had the good sense to see through these arts. Nobody can read his letters without being convinced that he was actuated by a sincere, consistent, and rational piety; and that his liberality to Harvard College grew out of a conviction that he was aiding to build up an institution dedicated to Christ and the Church. //

It is desirable to ascertain, as clearly as we can, the religious sentiments of Mr Hollis, particularly in his last days. //He was a Dissenter, 'rooted and grounded;' and if there was any subject on which his accustomed charity and candor failed him, it was this. We should remember, however, that he wrote under a keen sense of political wrongs, that the fanaticism preached up by Sacheverell was still fresh in his recollections, and that he honestly believed, and not without reason, that the hierarchy wanted but the power and there would be an end to English liberty. // In this state of mind he must have heard, with extreme regret, in 1722, that Dr Cutler,† rector of Yale College, and several other Congregational ministers in Connecticut, had applied for Episcopal ordination.

'Believe me, Sir,' he writes to Dr Colman, 'this will be cause of real grief to you, and others like-minded to you. For what with their new ceremonies and orders, probably accompanied with a defection in morals, it must be far worse than the different sentiments of a few honest Christians about the mode of

* Professor Wigglesworth, the father, wrote a fine, thick, and cramped hand, which it was almost impossible to decypher. Mr Hollis begins one of his letters to him thus;—'Mr Professor, Dear Sir; I have received your letter dated July 11, which I doubt not is very good, but so small a character I must guess at the sense. I beseech you, if you write any business that requires an answer, never write to me any more so. If you will not write larger (for I doubt not but you can), get some one to transcribe it in a character I may read; or else never write to me again. It is a pain to me, who value Mr Wigglesworth, to think or find I cannot read his letters.'

† Afterwards first rector of Christ Church in this city.

baptism ; because these new schismatics will have numbers and powers on their side to encourage them. It will cause you, and other faithful ministers, to stir up their auditories the more to holy living, and examining the grounds for their practice and dissent from the national church, and occasionally be turned for a blessing among you. Persecution for religious tenets, through Divine favor, has now been restrained in England for many years, but it is not without reason, that some think, should God for holy purposes suffer our clergy at London to domineer as in a late reign, our meetinghouses would be strangely thinned. Few, comparatively, among us, considering or remembering the true causes of our separate meetings, the rest only go to them because that ordinarily they find there the best preaching.'

Again, he writes to President Leverett ;

'Dr Cutler is now returned for Boston, I think with Captain Ruggles. He goes over reordained, but I think not rebaptized ; for want of which, according to his narrow, uncharitable, and Dodwellian principles, I do not see how he can rightly baptize others ; and he ought to be pushed, and made to doubt. I have urged him to a larger charity, and for peace, according to my talent, in word and deed. This man's character is to be treated among you in a different manner from the common and vicious missionaries. He was reputed one of your faith and order, but Demas-like, he has loved the world, and is departed from you, and as a bold schismatic becomes the head of a party, and dares you fairly. He is above board ; he will do all he is able, to bring men over to his beloved notions of Episcopal ordination, as necessary ; and he has a great advantage of many by his calmness and sedateness in his disputing. I have seen him pushed to an absurdity, and yet not appear ruffled or discountenanced. He told me he could wish he could convert me ; but I trust, I am in some measure confirmed in the present truth, and my hope is in God, that he will keep me from falling, and preserve me blameless, and that my dearest Saviour will, in his time, present me faultless. Glory be to the Father through Jesus Christ.—Amen.'

// The Dissenting interest in ~~England~~ was sustained at this time almost exclusively, by the 'three denominations,' as they are called, the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. Mr Hollis went with the last, a preference early formed, as he says, on inquiry and conviction, and held through life, but without the smallest mixture of bigotry or exclusiveness against the others. He was aware that this sect was an object of extreme

dislike to some in the College Government, and to the New England Congregationalists generally.

'I have been prevailed on at your instances, to sit the first time for my picture, a present to your Hall. I doubt not that they are pleased with my monies, but I have some reason to think that some among you will not be well pleased to see the shade of a Baptist hung there, unless you get a previous order to admit it, and forbidding any indecencies to it; for if they do, though I am at a distance, the birds of the air will tell it, and I shall be grieved, as I have been already.'

This was in a private letter to Dr Colman. After the picture was done, he writes as follows, to President Leverett.

'In compliance with your and the Corporation's request, which you with Mr Colman made to me in your letter of February last, I now send you my shade by Captain Cary, to be put up in your College Hall; and I desire their favorable acceptance of it. My wife, and some others of my family, seconded your letter, or else I should hardly have been so vain as to have attempted it. Perhaps some among you will be pleased with the picture for the painter's performance, though others may secretly despise it, because of the particular principle of the original. Let such know, I have read, believed, and practised upon conviction; and which among them who are thinkers can believe as they will, but upon evidence, as any doctrine appears to their minds, till they are better informed? And tell them, Mr Hollis means nothing by all he has done, and is doing for your college, but for the glory of God, and the good of souls, by assisting them in their studies of the sacred writings, whereby the gospel of Christ Jesus, and the great truths therein contained, may be well proved and preached unto others; that by the influences of the Holy Spirit attending their ministry, men may come to be sincere Christians, evidencing it in faith and practice, without any regard to either of the three denominations, or parties of Protestant Dissenters. To all of such I desire to express my christian charity.'

Though not attaching much importance to the peculiarities of the Baptists, he was a true friend to the sect, and availed himself of every opportunity to serve them. In one of his letters to Dr Colman, he says;—

'I have given some intimation to the Baptist churches in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, of my design in your college for promoting learning. They have many churches and preachers

among them, by the accounts sent me, but I find not one preacher among them that understands the languages. If any from those parts should now, or hereafter make application to your college, I beseech them, the College, to show kindness to such, and stretch their charity a little. It is what I wish the Baptists would do, though I have no great expectation, as what I think would be for advantage of the christian faith; especially while there are so many Quakers among them.' *A*

Again he says, in writing* to the same gentleman;—

'You have written me in a kind manner, in relation to Mr E. Callender,* once or twice, and of his church. I was thinking to suggest to you, as a means to increase charity, that on some proper occasion he might be invited to join with your churches in days of fasting or thanksgiving; or that some one or other of you might offer to exchange a pulpit with him, on your lecture days, or Lord's-days. I leave it to your prudence. It is frequently practised in London among the three denominations.'

Some obscurity rests over the question how far Mr Hollis was a believer in the 'doctrines of grace,' so called. Neither his life, nor his religious connexions, nor the printed accounts of him, would lead us to suspect him of Calvinism, if we except the following lines from Mr Rudd's† poem on his death.

'Cease, mournful maid, the tale is known too well.
Rather proclaim for ancient truths his zeal,
(Dealt all his favors undistinguished still)
For truths there were Hollis would boldly own,
Loose as the age, and desperate, is grown.
Such did imputed righteousness appear,
Title to heaven, and ground of pardon here;
Such, Christ, the honors of thy reverend name;
Such, glorious Spirit, thy celestial flame;

* Elisha Callender, then minister of the first Baptist Church in this city. Mr Hollis often refers to him in his correspondence, sending him books, commending him to his friends, and paying him other attentions.

† Sayer Rudd began his career among the strict Baptists, and preached in several places. At length he resolved to visit France, and as his church would not give him their consent, he went without it. On his return he preached among the Baptists again, but failed of gaining a settlement, as he was understood to have given up the trinity. Some years after he was settled over an Arian congregation, but the society gradually declining, and he himself being almost entirely disowned by his own denomination, it put him out of humor with the Dissenters generally. He finally conformed, and accepted of a living in the Establishment. At the time of writing his monody on Mr Hollis he was a Calvinistic Baptist.

Such the grand mystery of the eternal Three,
Persons if meant, but one if Deity.
On these he frankly did his thoughts disclose,
For these his interest frequent interpose ;
Nor silent would the injurious tongue indure,
But curb that malice, which 't is God's to cure.'

pp. 23, 24.

To this passage he appends a note, from which it appears, that he is only reporting a hearsay.

'I have been informed, that Mr Hollis entertained a very honorable esteem for the doctrine of the ever blessed trinity, the imputed righteousness of Christ, &c., and that his openly avowing these principles was a check upon some, who appeared to have no great opinion of them.'

A few expressions occur in the unpublished correspondence of Mr Hollis, that seem to imply a belief in the trinity, and in Calvinism, or at least in some of its peculiar doctrines. There is a long letter to Dr Colman, in which he recounts his religious experience from childhood, and adopts, for the most part, the phraseology usual in such narratives as given by Calvinists. But it should be considered that he knew himself to be writing to a Calvinist, whom he wished to please and conciliate ; and also that in the same letter he commends Dr Hunt, and, in speaking of the difficulties in his society, takes part with Dr Hunt's friends against the strict Calvinists. Besides, this letter was written ten years before Mr Hollis's death, during which time we think we can see him inclining more and more toward rational views ; precisely what was to be expected from the greater leisure he had for the investigation of truth, after quitting business, and from his frequent intercourse with such men as Dr Hunt, Mr Lowman, and Lord Barrington. The passage, however, in Mr Hollis's correspondence which looks most like proper Calvinism, is found in a letter written not long afterwards to the same gentleman.

'Mr Hirst was at my house while I was visiting the poor at St Thomas's Hospital, April 23, and left me your book, and your letter, dated February 6, for which I thank you. My wife urged him to stay to dinner, or come again in an hour, when I came home to dinner ; but he did not come, nor have I yet seen him, to talk as you desired me. His father appeared a serious, religious man, that worked hard for heaven. It had been happy he had been led a little more clearly into the doctrine of free

justification through faith alone. He might possibly have had a more comfortable frame of mind; though I doubt not he had a safe state, and in many things greatly to be commended. I shall be glad to be in such a resigned frame when my change comes.'

On the whole, it appears, that Mr Hollis was educated in a belief of Calvinism, then the prevalent and almost universal creed of the Dissenters. He began to use the language of this creed, long before he can be supposed to have used it understandingly; and it is probable that a habit of using it vaguely and mechanically was early formed, which continued with him to the last. While, therefore, he used the language of a Calvinist, and thought himself one, it is probable, that, like many others, he was in fact an Arminian, perhaps a Unitarian, without knowing it. At the same time, after he became advanced in life, it is not unlikely, that according to Mr Rudd, when young ministers began to lay aside the old phrases in their preaching and conversation, and introduce new and strange ones, he expressed some of the jealousy and impatience, which an old man is apt to feel in regard to all innovations. It is astonishing how slow and reluctant most men are to relinquish the religious phraseology in which they have been educated, which has become easy and familiar to them, and with which they have associated, no matter how erroneously, their first religious impressions, and the strictness and piety of their fathers. Almost every great change in the public faith has been introduced, therefore, by giving to the old terms new or modified significations, rather than by attempting at once a new and more exact nomenclature. Even the Arians at Exeter, intelligent, courageous, and high principled as they were, persisted for a long time, through fear, or policy, or the indistinctness of their views, in using language proper and consistent in Trinitarians only.

Whatever Mr Hollis may have thought of Calvinism himself, it is morally certain that he did not withhold the christian name, or his christian sympathies, from those who dissented from it. This is proved by his whole history; by the character of the men, whose society he courted and preferred; by his conduct in regard to his own minister, and the Arians at Exeter; and, by almost every extract which we have given from his correspondence. We might give many more passages to the same purpose, but one or two will suffice.

‘I shall take pleasure,’ he writes to Dr Colman, ‘in recommending the catholic communion of saints on all proper occasions, and do love them that show, by their works, they love Christ Jesus; while I bear with others who are sincere in their more confined charity, as I would they should bear with me in my more enlarged. We search after truth; we yet see but in part; happy the man who reduces his notions into a constant train of practice. Our great Lord and High Priest bears much and long with every one of us. I expect a better state, perfectly happy; to be brought to it, and consummated in it by him who is able to subdue all things to himself. Charity is the grace that now adorns us, and prepares us for glory. May it always abide in your breast and mine, and grow more and more.’

In regard to the trinity, he was particularly averse to exclusive measures, holding it to be a mystery, which no one could explain, and on which, therefore, no one should be required to express himself, but in the words of scripture. Dr Colman had sent him Judah Monis’s three Essays, which he thus notices.

‘I wish you, Sir, to instruct him a little better in the christian doctrine of more extensive charity, and not to judge too hastily of his neighbour, and exclude from salvation every one that differs from him in the application and belief of the article of the trinity. A glorious truth it is; but the manner of explaining it appears difficult, so difficult that scarce two can say exactly alike, except they agree on a form, and agree to write after it.’

Mr Hollis insists frequently and imperatively on a written bond, by which the Corporation should bind themselves and their successors, forever, to observe his Rules and Orders for the Divinity Professorship; but his object in doing this has been strangely misapprehended. It was to prevent a body of bigoted Calvinists and Congregationalists from throwing aside his Rules and Orders, which were entirely liberal, and adopting others in their room, which he knew would be exclusive. Accordingly he writes to Dr Colman, August 18, 1722;—

‘I do now intreat you to acquaint Mr President and the Corporation, that they should send me over some writing obligatory, that they will now, and in all time following, perform this my trust committed to them, pursuant to my Orders, which I have signed, and shall sign with my hand and seal; which I may leave with my heirs at my decease, who may have some power to examine that your successors are faithful in their trust, and

do not divert the principal, nor income, to other purposes. The late uncharitable reflections of some upon the Baptists as not orthodox, together with the present or later motions of some to alter by changing or increasing hands in the governing power of the Corporation, makes me think it to be needful, and I hope they will grant it me.'

From this passage it is plain, that the fears of the founder of the professorship were, that the term 'orthodox,' as used in his Rules and Orders, would be interpreted too exclusively, and not too liberally. He seems, indeed, to have suspected something worse; for, in a subsequent letter to the same gentleman, he writes ;—

'I was displeased to hear that another person at your board should say to this effect, on reading my Orders, that when Mr Hollis was dead, they could make new orders for him.'

He knew that if they did make 'new orders' for him, they would be so framed, like the declaration required of Mr Wigglesworth before his election, as to shut out forever from the office, Baptists, Arminians, and Unitarians. This was what Mr Hollis resolved to prevent. We see, therefore, why it was that the most liberal among his advisers, Lord Barrington and Dr Hunt, were among the most earnest in urging him to insist on the bond.*

All the authorities on the subject, without a solitary exception, concur in the view here given of Mr Hollis's liberal intentions. Professor Wigglesworth says ;—

'The expressions of his bounty were not confined to a party. And indeed by his frequent and ample benefactions, for the encouragement of theological, as well as humane knowledge among us, who are Christians of a different denomination from himself, he hath set such an example of a generous, catholic, and christian spirit, as hath never before fallen within my observation; nor (so far as I now remember), within my reading. However, it was nothing but what appeared in the constant tenor of his

* There is another passage, in which Mr Hollis shows that his only apprehension was from the government of the College being in the hands of Exclusionists. He writes to Dr Colman ;—'I take notice of your election of Mr Sewall, to be the President of Harvard College; and after due waiting, that he has declined, for weighty reasons, accepting that honorable and laborious chair. I am well pleased he is not at the head of my donations, having been informed how strait he is in principle, and narrow in his charity to poor despised Baptists.' We hardly need add, that Dr Sewall, here referred to, was the strictest Calvinist and greatest bigot of his day.

letters, that he did not apprehend the kingdom of God to consist in meat and drink, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the holy ghost.'—Sermon on the Death of Hollis, pp. 21, 22. ;

Dr Colman, is equally explicit.

'To the honor of my country, I must add, that it was some account Mr Hollis received from us of the free and catholic air we breathe at our Cambridge, where Protestants of every denomination may have their children educated, and graduated in our College, if they behave with sobriety and virtue, that took his generous heart, and fixed it on us, and enlarged it to us. And this shall be with me among his distinguishing praises, while we rise up and bless his memory; i. e. bless God in the remembrance of all the undeserved favors done us by him.'

Funeral Sermon, p. 5.

The biographer of Thomas Hollis, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, in speaking of the subject of this memoir, and his two brothers, says;—

'It should be remembered, to the honor of these worthy men, that their donations to Harvard College were conferred without any exclusive conditions relative to religious sects or denominations.'—Vol. 1. p. 1.

Even Mr Rudd, the great and only authority on which much reliance is placed by those who maintain that Mr Hollis was a strict Trinitarian and Calvinist, admits, however, that he did not regard his theological leanings in the bestowment of his charities; that he

! 'Dealt all his favors undistinguished still.'

Instead of engaging directly in the controversy respecting the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, we have preferred to collect and set before our readers, in these slight historical notices, the necessary materials for making up an opinion on the subject. We shall add a few words, however, on the use of the term 'orthodox,' in the last article of the Rules and Orders of this foundation. The whole article runs thus;—

'That the person chosen from time to time to be Professor, be a man of solid learning in divinity, of sound or orthodox principles, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life, and good conversation.'*

* Foundations and Statutes of the Professorships and Tutorships at Harvard University. The original of the Rules and Orders, as here printed, is missing.

On comparing this article with the corresponding one in the Rules and Orders, as inserted above, we are struck with a various reading of some consequence. In the copy given above, and also in another in Mr Hollis's own handwriting, the first which he sent over duly signed, the article begins differently. 'That it be recommended to the electors, that at every choice, they prefer a man of solid learning in divinity, of sound or orthodox principles.' It is true, this difference has no bearing on the true interpretation of the term 'orthodox,' which occurs in all the copies, and is used in the same connexion in all, and ought obviously to be understood in the same sense. But it shows, that, in framing originally this part of the instrument, nothing was further from Mr Hollis's intentions, than tying up the hands of the electors. However we understand the term 'orthodox,' it does not appear that he required them to choose an orthodox man, but only that he recommended it. Neither does it appear that the change in the phraseology of the article, grew out of any change in Mr Hollis's purpose in this respect. If such a change had really taken place, it would have led to some remarks, and we have not met with a syllable on the subject in all his letters.

The question recurs, What does the term 'orthodox' mean, as used in the existing statutes of this professorship? Orthodoxy, in its strict and etymological acceptation, does not stand for any set of opinions or doctrines actually held in the church, but for the truth, or right opinion. Dr Johnson defines it, 'soundness in opinion and doctrine,' leaving it, of course, still open to discussion, What is 'soundness?' This is the sense in which the word, or rather the adjective derived from it, is to be understood in the passage before us, as may be inferred from the connexion. The epithet 'orthodox,' is not added as meaning anything more than 'sound;' for it is not said that the principles of the candidate should be sound *and* orthodox, but only that they should be 'sound *or* orthodox,' making 'orthodox' and 'sound,' convertible terms. The candidate should be a man of orthodox principles, that is, of sound and correct principles; leaving it, of course, for the electors to decide what shall be considered as evidence of sound and correct principles, just as it is left for them to decide what shall be considered as evidence of 'a sober and pious life and good conversation.'

There is, we are aware, a loose and popular sense, in which

the term 'orthodox' is used in some places, as designating the opinions of the majority for the time being. By the Orthodox in Catholic countries, we are sometimes to understand those who strictly adhere to the decrees of the Council of Trent; by the Orthodox in England, those who maintain the Arminian interpretation of the Thirtynine Articles, and by the Orthodox in this country, those who hold a modified form of Calvinism, which, however, strictly speaking, is not Calvinism. But it is obvious, that no man would have used the term in this loose and popular sense, without anything to fix and determine its signification, in a solemn instrument which was to be binding on all posterity. Doubtless the term in question was often used by the Dissenters in Mr Hollis's time, and by Mr Hollis himself, as synonymous with Calvinistic. But is not everybody using terms of this sort, sometimes in their strict and proper, and sometimes in their local and sectarian acceptation? Besides, if the governors of the College are required to select a man for the divinity professorship, who is Orthodox, in the local and sectarian sense of that term, as used by the Dissenters a hundred years ago, there is not, probably, throughout New England a single individual, even among the reputed Calvinists at the present day, whom they could place in the chair with a clear conscience. The reputed Orthodox amongst us, at the present day, by giving up, as we believe they have done universally, the doctrine of imputation, have departed as really and essentially from the proper and strict Calvinism of the Puritans, as if they had given up the doctrine of the trinity.

Considering only the term itself, therefore, and the connexion in which it is found, we should conclude, without the shadow of a doubt, that the word 'orthodox,' in these Rules and Orders, was not intended to restrict the Corporation and Overseers to the choice of a Calvinist and Trinitarian. When we recur to the history of the instrument, and recollect by whom it was drawn up and recommended, what before we confidently believed, is converted into moral certainty. Can we suppose, that Neal, and Harris, and Hunt, and Oldfield, and Lowman, and Shallett, would have joined to recommend the exclusive principle in religion? the very principle, which, at that moment, they were contending against in their own country, and had been contending against all their days? Can we suppose that Hunt and Lowman would have been the idiots, the dotards, not only to recommend the adoption of the exclusive principle, but to

recommend its adoption against their own tenets? If it had been a part of Mr Hollis's intention, by these Rules and Orders, to exclude Arminians and Unitarians, can we suppose that he would have employed Dr Hunt himself, an Arminian and Unitarian, to draw up the paper? Can we suppose that he would have employed his own minister, whom he so often heard preaching against Calvinism, to prepare the statutes of the new professorship, in the expectation that he would do it in such a manner as to exclude from this professorship forever, all but Calvinists? Moreover, what reason have we to suspect, with regard to Mr Hollis himself, that he had so soon forgotten the liberal side he had taken in the difficulties between Dr Hunt and his people, and in the Salters' Hall controversy, and was now disposed to act on that very principle of exclusiveness, which, for years, he had been so constant and loud in reproaching as unjust and unchristian? What reason have we to suspect, that he did not mean that we should put the most liberal construction on the term 'orthodox' in these statutes, especially when we remember, that in the only instance in which he alludes to the subject at all in his correspondence, he expresses an anxiety lest the term should be interpreted, not too liberally, but too exclusively.

This, then, is our conclusion. Mr Hollis had strong political antipathies against the Church of Rome, and the Church of England; but in regard to all differences among Christians, purely theological, we believe he intended that his professorship should be entirely open.

The donations of Mr Hollis to Harvard College amounted to about seventeen hundred and fifty pounds sterling, or to about five thousand pounds of the depreciated currency of the Province, equal to seven thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-seven dollars of our money. This, considering the relative value of money at that time, was one of the most liberal and munificent benefactions which our College has ever received. We may form some notion of the difference in the relative value of money then and now, when we are told, that the yearly stipend, granted in the first instance to the divinity professor, was only eighty pounds currency, or about twentysix pounds sterling; and this in the Rules and Orders is called an 'honorable stipend.'

The following is, we believe, a true account of the present state of the funds given to the College by the elder Hollis;—

Appropriated for the Divinity Professor,	\$2606 67
For the Professor of Natural Philosophy } and Mathematics,	2606 67
For the College Treasurer,	520 00
For Indigent Scholars,	2680 00

Whole amount,	\$8413 34
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It will be seen from this statement, that the divinity professor can derive from these funds, supposing them invested at six *per cent.*, but about one hundred and fifty of the fifteen hundred dollars, his regular salary. So far, therefore, as the interests of the College are concerned, it is not of much importance how the controversy about this professorship is determined. But it is of great importance to the good name of Mr Hollis, that he should be protected against the unjust imputation of being a bigot.

There were three benefactors to the College, who bore the name of Thomas Hollis, and who are often confounded together. Thomas Hollis, the subject of this memoir, who died 1731. Thomas Hollis, nephew and heir of the preceding, and son of Nathaniel. Of this man little is known, except that he gave the College two hundred pounds sterling, and died in 1735. The family estates then descended to his only son, Thomas Hollis, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. This gentleman gave for the library of the College about fourteen hundred pounds sterling. There is a memoir of him compiled by Archdeacon Blackburne, in two quarto volumes. We learn from his biographer, that he connected himself with no religious sect. He died January 1, 1774. With the exception of a few legacies, he bequeathed his whole property to his friend, Thomas Brand, Esq., of the Hyde in Essex, who afterwards assumed the name of Hollis. He also presented the College many valuable books for the library in his lifetime, and one hundred pounds sterling at his decease. There is a memoir of him in a thin quarto volume prepared and published by Mr Disney. He was an avowed Unitarian, and a regular worshipper at the Essex Street Chapel in London. He died September 9, 1804. By him the Hollis estates were bequeathed to John Disney, a Unitarian clergyman.

ART. V.—1. *Fourth Annual Report to the American Unitarian Association, read and accepted May 26, 1829, with the Addresses at the Annual Meeting.* Boston. Leonard C. Bowles. 1829. 12mo. pp. 50.

2. *The Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance. Presented January 28, 1829.* Andover. Flagg & Gould. 1829. 8vo. pp. 64.

3. *First Annual Report of the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath, adopted May 12, 1829.* New York. 8vo. pp. 16.

By *William Ellery Channing.*

WE have prefixed to this article the titles of several reports of Societies, not so much for the purpose of discussing the merits of the several institutions whose labors they celebrate, as with the more general design of offering some remarks on the disposition, which now prevails, to form Associations, and to accomplish all objects by organized masses. A difference of opinion on this point has begun to manifest itself, and murmurs against the countless Societies which modestly solicit, or authoritatively claim our aid, which now assail us with fair promises of the good which they purpose, and now with rhetorical encomiums on the good they have done, begin to break forth from the judicious and well disposed, as well as from the querulous and selfish. These doubts and complaints, however, are most frequently excited by particular cases of unfair or injurious operations in Societies. As yet, no general principles have been established, by which the value of this mode of action may be determined, or the relative claims of different Associations may be weighed. We will not promise to supply the deficiency, but we hope to furnish some help to a sounder judgment than yet prevails on the subject.

That the subject deserves attention, no man who observes the signs of the times, can doubt. Its importance forces itself on the reflecting. In truth, one of the most remarkable circumstances or features of our age, is the energy with which the principle of combination, or of action by joint forces, by associated numbers, is manifesting itself. It may be said, without much exaggeration, that everything is done now by Societies. Men have learned what wonders can be accomplished in certain cases by union, and seem to think that union is competent to

everything. You can scarcely name an object for which some institution has not been formed. Would men spread one set of opinions, or crush another? They make a Society. Would they improve the penal code, or relieve poor debtors? They make Societies. Would they encourage agriculture, or manufactures, or science? They make Societies. Would one class encourage horse-racing, and another discourage travelling on Sunday? They form Societies. We have immense institutions spreading over the country, combining hosts for particular objects. We have minute ramifications of these Societies, penetrating everywhere except through the poor-house, and conveying resources from the domestic, the laborer, and even the child, to the central treasury. This principle of association is worthy the attention of the philosopher, who simply aims to understand society, and its most powerful springs. To the philanthropist and the Christian it is exceedingly interesting, for it is a mighty engine, and must act, either for good or for evil, to an extent which no man can foresee or comprehend.

It is very easy, we conceive, to explain this great development of the principle of cooperation. The main cause is, the immense facility given to intercourse by modern improvements, by increased commerce and travelling, by the post-office, by the steam-boat, and especially by the press, by newspapers, periodicals, tracts, and other publications. Through these means, men of one mind, through a whole country, easily understand one another, and easily act together. The grand manœuvre to which Napoleon owed his victories, we mean the concentration of great numbers on a single point, is now placed within the reach of all parties and sects. It may be said, that, by facilities of intercourse, men are brought within one another's attraction, and become arranged according to their respective affinities. Those who have one great object, find one another out through a vast extent of country, join their forces, settle their mode of operation, and act together with the uniformity of a disciplined army. So extensive have coalitions become, through the facilities now described, and so various and rapid are the means of communication, that when a few leaders have agreed on an object, an impulse may be given in a month to the whole country. Whole States may be deluged with tracts and other publications, and a voice like that of many waters, be called forth from immense and widely separated multitudes. Here is a new power brought to bear on society, and it is a great

moral question, how it ought to be viewed, and what duties it imposes.

That this mode of action has advantages and recommendations, is very obvious. The principal arguments in its favor may be stated in a few words. Men, it is justly said, can do jointly, what they cannot do singly. The union of minds and hands, works wonders. Men grow efficient by concentrating their powers. Joint effort conquers nature, hews through mountains, rears pyramids, dikes out the ocean. Man, left to himself, living without a fellow, if he could indeed so live, would be one of the weakest of creatures. Associated with his kind, he gains dominion over the strongest animals, over the earth and the sea, and, by his growing knowledge, may be said to obtain a kind of property in the universe.

Nor is this all. Men not only accumulate power by union, but gain warmth, and earnestness. The heart is kindled. An electric communication is established between those who are brought nigh, and bound to each other, in common labors. Man droops in solitude. No sound excites him like the voice of his fellow creature. The mere sight of a human countenance, brightened with strong and generous emotion, gives new strength to act or suffer. Union not only brings to a point forces which before existed, and which were ineffectual through separation, but, by the feeling and interest which it rouses, it becomes a creative principle, calls forth new forces, and gives the mind a consciousness of powers, which would otherwise have been unknown.

We have here given the common arguments by which the disposition to association is justified and recommended. They may be summed up in a few words; namely, that our social principles and relations are the great springs of improvement, and of vigorous and efficient exertion. That there is much truth in this representation of the influences of society, we at once feel. That without impulses and excitements from abroad, without sympathies and communication with our fellow creatures, we should gain nothing and accomplish nothing, we mean not to deny. Still we apprehend, that on this subject there is a want of accurate views and just discrimination. We apprehend that the true use of society is not sufficiently understood; that the chief benefit which it is intended to confer, and the chief danger to which it exposes us, are seldom weighed, and that errors or crude opinions on these points, deprive us of

many benefits of our social connexions. These topics have an obvious bearing on the subject of this article. It is plain that the better we understand the true use, the chief benefit, and the chief peril of our social principles and relations, the better we shall be prepared to judge of Associations which are offered to our patronage. On these topics, then, we propose first to give our views; and, in so doing, we shall allow ourselves a considerable latitude, because, in our judgment, the influences of society at present tend strongly to excess, and especially menace that individuality of character, for which they can yield no adequate compensation.

The great principle, from which we start in this preliminary discussion, and in which all our views of the topics above proposed, are involved, may be briefly expressed. It is this;—Society is chiefly important, as it ministers to, and calls forth, intellectual and moral energy and freedom. Its action on the individual is beneficial, in proportion as it awakens in him a power to act on himself, and to control or withstand the social influences to which he is at first subjected. Society serves us, by furnishing objects, occasions, materials, excitements, through which the whole soul may be brought into vigorous exercise, may acquire a consciousness of its free and responsible nature, may become a law to itself, and may rise to the happiness and dignity of framing and improving itself without limit or end. Inward, creative energy, is the highest good which accrues to us from our social principles and connexions. The mind, is enriched, not by what it passively receives from others, but by its own action on what it receives. We would especially affirm of virtue, that it does not consist in what we inherit, or what comes to us from abroad. It is of inward growth, and it grows by nothing so much as by resistance of foreign influences, by acting from our deliberate convictions, in opposition to the principles of sympathy and imitation. According to these views, our social nature and connexions are means. Inward power is the end; a power which is to triumph over, and control the influence of society.

We are told that we owe to society our most valuable knowledge. And true it is, that, were we cast from birth into solitude, we should grow up in brutal ignorance. But it is also true, that the knowledge which we receive is of little value, any farther than it is food and excitement to intellectual action. Its

worth is to be measured by the energy with which it is sought and employed. Knowledge is noble, in proportion as it is prolific; in proportion as it quickens the mind to the acquisition of higher truth. Let it be rested in passively, and it profits us nothing. Let the judgment of others be our trust, so that we cease to judge for ourselves, and the intellect is degraded into a worthless machine. The dignity of the mind is to be estimated by the energy of its efforts for its own enlargement. It becomes heroic, when it reverences itself and asserts its freedom in a cowardly and servile age; when it withstands society through a calm, but invincible love of truth, and a consciousness of the dignity and progressiveness of its powers.

The indispensable necessity of instruction from our fellow creatures, we in no degree question. But perhaps few are aware how imperfect are the conceptions received from the best instructor, and how much must be done by our own solitary thinking, to give them consistency and vividness. It may be doubted whether a fellow creature can ever impart to us apprehensions of a complex subject, which are altogether just. Be the teacher ever so unerring, his language can hardly communicate his mind with entire precision; for few words awaken exactly the same thoughts in different men. The views which we receive from the most gifted beings, are at best an approximation to truth. We have spoken of unerring teachers; but where are these to be found? Our daily intercourse is with fallible beings, most of whom are undisciplined in intellect, the slaves of prejudice, and unconscious of their own spiritual energies. The essential condition of intellectual progress in such a world, is the resistance of social influences, or of impressions from our fellow beings.

What we have said of intellectual, is still more true of moral progress. No human being exists, whose character can be proposed as a faultless model. But could a perfect individual be found, we should only injure ourselves by indiscriminate, servile imitation; for much which is good in another, is good in him alone, belongs to his peculiar constitution, has been the growth of his peculiar experience, is harmonious and beautiful only in combination with his other attributes, and would be unnatural, awkward, and forced in a servile imitator. The very strength of emotion, which in one man is virtue, in another would be defect; for virtue depends on the balance which exists between the various principles of the soul; and that intenseness of

feeling, which, when joined with force of thought and purpose, is healthful and invigorating, would prove a disease, or might approach insanity, in a weak and sensitive mind. No man should part with his individuality and aim to become another. No process is so fatal as that which would cast all men into one mould. Every human being is intended to have a character of his own, to be what no other is, to do what no other can do. Our common nature is to be unfolded in unbounded diversities. It is rich enough for infinite manifestations. It is to wear innumerable forms of beauty and glory. Every human being has a work to carry on within, duties to perform abroad, influences to exert, which are peculiarly his, and which no conscience but his own can teach. Let him not, then, enslave his conscience to others, but act with the freedom, strength, and dignity of one, whose highest law is in his own breast.

We know that it may be replied to us, that Providence, by placing us at birth in entire subjection to social influences, has marked out society as the great instrument of determining the human mind. The child, it is said, is plainly designed to receive passively and with unresisting simplicity, a host of impressions, thoughts, and feelings, from those around him. This we know. But we know, too, that childhood is not to endure forever. We know that the impressions, pleasures, pains, which throng and possess the infant mind, are intended to awaken in it an energy, by which it is to subject them to itself; by which it is to separate from the crude mass what is true and pure; by which it is to act upon, and modify, and throw into new combinations, the materials forced upon it originally by sensation and society. It is only by putting forth this inward and self-forming power, that we emerge from childhood. He who continues to be passively moulded, prolongs his infancy to the tomb. There is deep wisdom in the declaration of Jesus, that to be his disciples, we must 'hate father and mother;' or, in other words, that we must surrender the prejudices of education to the new lights which God gives us; that the love of truth must triumph over the influences of our best and earliest friends; that, forsaking the maxims of society, we must frame ourselves according to the standard of moral perfection set before us in the life, spirit, and teachings of Jesus Christ. It is interesting to observe how the Creator, who has subjected the child at first to social influences, has even at that age provided for its growing freedom, by inspiring it with an overflowing animation, an inexpressible

joy, an impatience of limits, a thirst for novelty, a delight in adventure, an ardent fancy, all suited to balance the authority of the old, and gradually mingling with the credulity of infancy, that questioning, doubting spirit, on which intellectual progress chiefly depends.

The common opinion is, that our danger from society arises wholly from its bad members, and that we cannot easily be too much influenced by the good. But, to our apprehension, there is a peril in the influence both of good and bad. What many of us have chiefly to dread from society, is, not that we shall acquire a positive character of vice, but that it will impose on us a negative character, that we shall live and die passive beings, that the creative and self-forming energy of the soul will not be called forth in the work of our improvement. Our danger is, that we shall substitute the consciences of others for our own, that we shall paralyze our faculties through dependence on foreign guides, that we shall be moulded from abroad instead of determining ourselves. The pressure of society upon us is constant, and almost immeasurable; now open and direct in the form of authority and menace, now subtle and silent in the guise of blandishment and promise. What mighty power is lodged in a frown or a smile, in the voice of praise and flattery, in scorn or neglect, in public opinion, in domestic habits and prejudices, in the state and spirit of the community to which we belong! Nothing escapes the cognisance of society. Its legislation extends even to our dress, movements, features; and the individual bears the traces, even in countenance, air, and voice, of the social influences amidst which he has been plunged. We are in great peril of growing up slaves to this exacting, arbitrary sovereign; of forgetting, or never learning our true responsibility; of living in unconsciousness of that divine power with which we are invested over ourselves, and in which all the dignity of our nature is concentrated; of overlooking the sacredness of our minds, and laying them open to impressions from any and all who surround us. Resistance of this foreign pressure is our only safeguard, and is essential to virtue. All virtue lies in individual action, in inward energy, in self-determination. There is no moral worth in being swept away by a crowd, even towards the best objects. We must act from an inward spring. The good, as well as the bad, may injure us, if, through that intolerance which is a common infirmity of the good, they impose on us authoritatively their

own convictions, and obstruct our own intellectual and moral activity. A state of society, in which correct habits prevail, may produce in many, a mechanical regularity and religion, which is anything but virtue. Nothing morally great or good springs from mere sympathy and imitation. These principles will only forge chains for us, and perpetuate our infancy, unless more and more controlled and subdued by that inward law-giver and judge, whose authority is from God, and whose sway over our whole nature, alone secures its free, glorious, and everlasting expansion.

† The truth is, and we need to feel it most deeply, that our connexion with society, as it is our greatest aid, so it is our greatest peril. We are in constant danger of being spoiled of our moral judgment, and of our power over ourselves; and in losing these, we lose the chief prerogatives of spiritual beings. We sink, as far as mind can sink, into the world of matter, the chief distinction of which is, that it wants self-motion, or moves only from foreign impulse. The propensity in our fellow creatures, which we have most to dread, is that, which, though most severely condemned by Jesus, is yet the most frequent infirmity of his followers; we mean, the propensity to rule, to tyrannize, to war with the freedom of their equals, to make themselves standards for other minds, to be lawgivers instead of brethren and friends to their race. Our great and most difficult duty as social beings, is, to derive constant aid from society without taking its yoke; to open our minds to the thoughts, reasonings, and persuasions of others, and yet to hold fast the sacred right of private judgment; to receive impulses from our fellow beings, and yet to act from our own souls; to sympathize with others, and yet to determine our own feelings; to act with others, and yet to follow our own consciences; to unite social deference and self-dominion; to join moral self-subsistence with social dependence; to respect others without losing self-respect; to love our friends, and to reverence our superiors, whilst our supreme homage is given to that moral perfection which no friend and no superior has realized, and which, if faithfully pursued, will often demand separation from all around us. Such is our great work as social beings, and to perform it, we should look habitually to Jesus Christ, who was distinguished by nothing more than by moral independence, than by resisting and overcoming the world.

The reverence for our own moral nature, on which we have

have now insisted, needs earnest and perpetual inculcation. This virtue finds few aids from abroad. All religions and governments have more or less warred with it. Even that religion which came from God to raise man to a moral empire over himself, has been seized on by the selfish and intolerant principles of human nature, and all its sanctions been brought to bear against that free, independent action of thought and conscience, which it was chiefly intended to promote. In truth, men need to be instructed in nothing more than in what they owe to their own spiritual faculties. The sacredness of the moral principle in every human breast; its divine right of dominion; the jealousy with which it ought to be protected against our own passions, and the usurpations of society; the watchful care with which it should be unfolded, refined, and fortified, by communion with ourselves, with great and good minds, with that brightest manifestation of God, Jesus Christ, and with God himself; the awe with which its deliberate dictates should be heard; the energy which it may, and should put forth in opposition to pleasure and pain, to human frowns or smiles; the sublime tranquillity to which it may ascend; the conscious union with God which it may attain, and through which it seems to partake of his omnipotence; these prerogatives of the moral nature, of that element and spark of Divinity in the soul, are almost forgotten in the condition of servitude to which the multitude are reduced by the joint tyranny of the passions and of society.

It is interesting and encouraging to observe, that the enslaving power of society over the mind, is decreasing, through what would seem at first to threaten its enlargement; we mean, through the extension of social intercourse. This is a distinction of our age, and one of its chief means of improvement. Men are widening their bounds, exchanging thoughts and feelings with fellow beings far and wide, with inhabitants of other countries, with subjects of other governments, with professors of other modes of faith. Distant nations are brought near, and are acting on one another with a new power; and the result is, that these differing and often hostile influences balance or neutralize one another, and almost compel the intellect to act, to compare, to judge, to frame itself. This we deem an immense benefit of the multiplication of books at the present day. The best books contain errors, and deserve a very limited trust. But wherever men of thought and genius publish freely, they will

perpetually send forth new views, to keep alive the intellectual action of the world; will give a frequent shock to received opinions; will lead men to contemplate great subjects from new positions, and, by thus awakening individual and independent energy, will work higher good than by the knowledge which they spread. The same effect is to be anticipated from the study of different languages, which occupies more and more space in our systems of education; and we believe this to be the happiest effect. A great man used to say, that in learning a new language, he had gained a new soul, so fresh and original were the views which it opened to him. A new language, considered in itself, or without reference to the writings which it contains, seems to us a valuable possession, on account of the new combinations of thought which its vocabulary presents; and when regarded as the key to the minds of a people, whose institutions, education, climate, temperament, religion, and history, differ from our own, and in whom, of consequence, our common nature is taking a new form, it is, to one who has power to understand its use, an invaluable acquisition. In truth, we cannot express too strongly the importance we attach to an enlarged intercourse with other minds, considered as the means of freeing and quickening our own. This is the chief good of extensive institutions for education. They place us under diversified social influences; connect us with the dead as well as with the living; accumulate for us the thoughts of all ages and nations; take us out of the narrow circle of a neighbourhood, or church, or community; make us fellow citizens with the friends of truth under the whole heaven, and, through these various and often hostile influences, aid and encourage us to that independent moral judgment, and intellectual discrimination, by which our views are more and more purified and enlarged.

We regret that religion has not done more to promote this enlarged intercourse of minds, the great means, as we have seen, of reconciling social aids with personal independence. As yet, religion has generally assumed a sectarian form, and its disciples, making narrowness a matter of conscience, have too often shunned connexion with men of different views as a pestilence, and yielded their minds to the exclusive influences of the leaders and teachers of their separate factions. Indeed, we fear that in no department of life has the social principle been perverted more into an instrument of intellectual thralldom, than in religion. We could multiply proofs without end, but will

content ourselves with a single illustration drawn from what are called 'revivals of religion.' We have many objections to these as commonly conducted; but nothing offends us more than their direct and striking tendency to overwhelm the mind with foreign influences, and to strip it of all self-direction. In these feverish seasons, religion, or what bears the name, is spread as by contagion, and to escape it is almost as difficult as to avoid a raging epidemic. Whoever knows anything of human nature, knows the effect of excitement in a crowd. When systematically prolonged and urged onward, it subverts deliberation and self-control. The individual is lost in the mass, and borne away as in a whirlwind. The prevalent emotion, be it love or hatred, terror or enthusiasm, masters every mind, which is not fortified by a rare energy, or secured by a rare insensibility. In revivals, a multitude are subjected at once to strong emotions, which are swelled and perpetuated by the most skilful management. The individual is never suffered to escape the grasp of the leading or subordinate agents in the work.* A machinery of social influences, of 'inquiry meetings,' of 'anxious meetings,' of conferences, of prayer meetings, of perpetual private or public impulses, is brought to bear on the diseased subject, until, exhausted in body and mind, he becomes the passive, powerless recipient of whatever form or impressions it may be thought fit to give him. Happily for mankind, our nature loses its sensibility to perpetual stimulants, and of consequence a revival is succeeded by what is called 'a dull, dead, stupid season.' This dull time is a merciful repose granted by Providence to the overwrought and oppressed mind, and gives some chance for calm, deliberate, individual thought and action. Thus the kindness of nature is perpetually counterworking the excesses of men, and a religion, which begins in partial insanity, is often seen to attain by degrees to the calmness and dignity of reason.

In the preceding remarks we have stated, at greater length than we intended, our views of the true and highest benefits of

* We recollect seeing the following direction gravely given for managing revivals, in the book of a minister experienced in this work. 'Be careful never to kindle more fires than you can tend.' In other words, Do not awaken and alarm more persons than you can place under constant inspection, and beset with perpetual excitements. What a strange rule for persons who profess to believe that these 'fires' are 'kindled' supernaturally by the Holy Spirit!

society. These seem to us great, unspeakably great. At the same time, like all other goods, they are accompanied with serious perils. Society too often oppresses the energy which it was meant to quicken and exalt.—We now pass to our principal subject; to the Associations for public purposes, whether benevolent, moral, or religious, which are so multiplied in the present age. And here we must confine ourselves to two remarks; the first intended to assign to such Associations their proper place or rank, and the second, to suggest a principle, by which useful Societies may be distinguished from such as are pernicious, and by which we may be aided in distributing among them our favor and patronage.

Our first remark is, that we should beware of confounding together, as of equal importance, those associations which are formed by our Creator, which spring from our very constitution, and are inseparable from our being, and those of which we are now treating, which man invents for particular times and exigences. Let us never place our weak, shortsighted contrivances on a level with the arrangements of God. We have acknowledged the infinite importance of society to the development of human powers and affections. But when we speak thus of society, we mean chiefly the relations in which God has placed us; we mean the connexions of family, of neighbourhood, of country, and the great bond of humanity, uniting us with our whole kind, and not Missionary Societies, Peace Societies, or Charitable Societies, which men have contrived. These last have their uses, and some do great good; but they are no more to be compared with the societies in which nature places us, than the torches which we kindle on earth in the darkness of night, are to be paralleled with the all-pervading and all-glorifying light of the sun. We make these remarks, because nothing is more common than for men to forget the value of what is familiar, natural, and universal, and to ascribe undue importance to what is extraordinary, forced, and rare, and therefore striking. Artificial associations have their use, but are not to be named with those of nature; and to these last, therefore, we are to give our chief regard.

We can easily illustrate, by examples, the inferiority of human associations. In Boston, there are two Asylums for children, which deserve, we think, a high place among useful institutions. Not a little time is spent upon them. Hundreds conspire to carry them on, and we have anniversaries to collect

crowds for their support. And what is the amount of good accomplished? Between one or two hundred children are provided for, a number worthy of all the care bestowed on these charities. But compare this number with all the children of this city, with the thousands who throng our streets, and our schools. And how are these fed, clothed, educated? We hear of no subscriptions, no anniversaries for their benefit; yet how they flourish, compared with the subjects of Asylums! These are provided for by that unostentatious and unpraised society, which God has instituted, a family. That shelter, home, which nature rears, protects them, and it is an establishment worth infinitely more than all the institutions, great or small, which man has devised. In truth, just as far as this is improved, as its duties are performed, and its blessings prized, all artificial institutions are superseded. Here then is the sphere for the agency of the wise and good. Improve the family, strengthen and purify the relations of domestic life, and more is done for the happiness and progress of the race, than by the most splendid charities.—Let us take another example, the Hospital in the same metropolis; a noble institution, worthy of high praise. But where is it that the sick of our city are healed? Must you look for them in the Hospital? You may find there perhaps, and should rejoice to find there, fifty or sixty beds for the poor. The thousands who sicken and die among us, are to be found in their homes, watched over by the nursing care of mothers and sisters, surrounded by that tenderness which grows up only at home.—Let us take another example, Missionary Societies. This whole country is thrown into excitement to support missions. The rich are taxed, and the poor burdened. We do not say that they are burdened without object; for Christianity is so infinite a blessing, that we consent to any honest methods of sending it abroad. But what is the amount of good effected? A few missionaries, we know not the precise number, are supported, of whom most have hitherto brought little to pass. Who can compare associations for this object, with churches, or those congregations of neighbours for regular worship, which Christianity has instituted, and to which nature has always prompted the professors of the same faith? Through these, incalculable aid is given to the support and diffusion of Christianity; and yet, through the propensity of human nature to exaggerate what is forced and artificial, one missionary at a distance is thought of more importance than a hundred ministers near, and the sending of him

abroad is extolled as an incomparably greater exploit of piety, than the support of our own places of worship. We mean not to discourage Missionary Societies; but the truth is, that Christianity is to be diffused incomparably more by caring for and promoting it in our natural relations, in our homes, in our common circles and churches, than by institutions endowed with the revenues of nations for sending it to distant lands. The great obstruction to Christianity among foreign nations, is, its inoperativeness among the nations which profess it. We offer others a religion, which, in their apprehension, has done the givers no great good. The true course is, to rely less on our own machinery of Cent Societies and National Societies, and to rely more on the connexions and arrangements of nature, or of God.

We beg not to be misunderstood. We would on no account discourage the Asylum, the Hospital, the Missionary Society. All receive our cheerful support. We only mean to say, that our great sources of improvement and happiness, are our natural relations and associations, and that to understand these better, and to attach ourselves more faithfully to their duties, are the great social means of carrying forward the world. A striking confirmation of these remarks may be found in the Romish Church. The probability is, that under the Catholic religion in the dark ages, there were larger contributions to the relief of the distressed, in proportion to the wealth of communities, than at present, and contributions by associations which regarded almsgiving as one of their main duties; we mean the monasteries. But the monks, who quitted the relations of nature, the society which God had instituted, in order to form new and artificial bonds, more favorable, as they thought, to doing good, made a sad mistake. Their own characters were injured, and the very charities doled out from convents, increased the beggary which they hoped to relieve. So sacred is nature, that it cannot be trampled on with impunity. We fear that something similar to the error just noticed among Catholics, is spreading among Protestants; the error of exalting societies of human device above our natural relations. We have been told that cases occur among us, and are not rare, in which domestic claims on kindness are set aside for the sake of making contributions to our great Societies, and especially to foreign missions. So possessed are the minds of multitudes with the supreme importance of this object, that there

seems to them a piety in withholding what would otherwise have been thought due to a poor relative, that it may be sent across oceans to pagan lands. We have heard that delicate kindnesses, which once flowed from the more prosperous to the less prosperous members of a large family, and which bound society together by that love which is worth all bonds, are diminished since the late excitement in favor of the heathen. And this we do not wonder at. In truth, we rather wonder that anything is done for the temporal comfort of friends, where the doctrine on which modern missions chiefly rest, is believed. We refer to the doctrine, that the whole heathen world are on the brink of a bottomless and endless hell; that thousands every day, and millions every year, are sinking into this abyss of torture and wo; and that nothing can save them but sending them our religion. We see not how they who so believe, can give their families or friends, a single comfort, much less an ornament, of life. They must be strongly tempted, one would think, to stint themselves and their dependents to necessities, and to cast their whole remaining substance into the treasury of *Missionary Societies*.

We repeat it, let us not be misunderstood. *Missionary Societies*, established on just principles, do honor to a christian community. We regard them with any feeling but that of hostility. The readers of this work cannot have forgotten the earnestness with which we recommended the support of a mission in India, at a time when we thought that peculiar circumstances invited exertion in that quarter. We only oppose the preference of these institutions to the natural associations and connexions of life. An individual who thinks that he is doing a more religious act in contributing to a *Missionary Society*, than in doing a needful act of kindness to a relative, friend, or neighbour, is leaving a society of God's institution, for one of man's making. He shows a perverted judgment in regard to the duties of his religion, and in regard to the best means of spreading it. All that has been done, or ever will or can be done by *Associations* for diffusing Christianity, is a mere drop of the bucket, compared with what is done silently, and secretly, by the common daily duties of Christians in their families, neighbourhoods, and business. The surest way of spreading Christianity, is, to improve christian communities; and accordingly, he who frees this religion from corruption, and makes it a more powerful instrument of virtue where it is already professed, is the most effectual contributor to the great work of its diffusion through the world.

We now proceed to our second remark, in which we proposed to suggest a principle, by which the claims of different Associations may be estimated. It is this;—The value of Associations is to be measured by the energy, the freedom, the activity, the moral power, which they encourage and diffuse. In truth, the great object of all benevolence, is, to give power, activity, and freedom to others. We cannot, in the strict sense of the word, *make* any being happy. We can give others the *means* of happiness, together with motives to the faithful use of them; but on this faithfulness, on the free and full exercise of their own powers, their happiness depends. There is thus a fixed, impassable limit to human benevolence. It can only make men happy through themselves, through their own freedom, and energy. We go further. We believe, that God has set the same limit to his own benevolence. He makes no being happy, in any other sense than in that of giving him means, powers, motives, and a field for exertion. We have here, we think, the great consideration to guide us in judging of Associations. Those are good which communicate power, moral and intellectual action, and the capacity of useful efforts, to the persons who form them, or to the persons on whom they act. On the other hand, Associations which in any degree impair or repress the free and full action of men's powers, are so far hurtful. On this principle, Associations for restoring to men health, strength, the use of their limbs, the use of their senses, especially of sight and hearing, are highly to be approved, for such enlarge men's powers; whilst charitable Associations, which weaken in men the motives to exertion, which offer a bounty to idleness, or make beggary as profitable as labor, are great calamities to society, and peculiarly calamitous to those whom they relieve. On the same principle, Associations which are designed to awaken the human mind, to give to men of all classes a consciousness of their intellectual powers, to communicate knowledge of a useful and quickening character, to encourage men in thinking with freedom and vigor, to inspire an ardent love and pursuit of truth,—are most worthy of patronage; whilst such as are designed or adapted to depress the human intellect, to make it dependent and servile, to keep it where it is, to give a limited amount of knowledge, but not to give impulse and an onward motion to men's thoughts,—all such Associations, however benevolent their professions, should be regarded as among the foes and obstructions to the best interests of society. On the same

principle, Associations aiming to purify and ennoble the character of a people, to promote true virtue, a rational piety, a disinterested charity, a wise temperance, and especially aiming to accomplish these ends by the only effectual means, that is, by calling forth men's own exertions for a higher knowledge of God and duty, and for a new and growing control of themselves,—such institutions are among the noblest; whilst no encouragement is due to such as aim to make men religious and virtuous by paralyzing their minds through terror, by fastening on them a yoke of opinions or practices, by pouring upon them influences from abroad which virtually annihilate their power over themselves, and make them instruments for others to speak through, and to wield at pleasure. We beg our readers to carry with them the principle now laid down in judging of Associations; to inquire, how far they are fitted to call forth energy, active talent, religious inquiry, a free and manly virtue. We insist on these remarks, because not a few Associations seem to us exceedingly exceptionable on account of their tendency to fetter men, to repress energy, to injure the free action of individuals and society, and because this tendency lurks, and is to be guarded against, even in good institutions. On this point we cannot but enlarge; for we deem it of highest importance.

Associations often injure free action by a very plain and obvious operation. They accumulate power in a few hands, and this takes place just in proportion to the surface over which they spread. In a large institution, a few men rule, a few do everything; and if the institution happens to be directed to objects about which conflict and controversy exist, a few are able to excite in the mass strong and bitter passions, and by these to obtain an immense ascendancy. Through such an Association, widely spread, yet closely connected by party feeling, a few leaders can send their voices and spirit far and wide, and, where great funds are accumulated, can league a host of instruments, and by menace and appeals to interest, can silence opposition. Accordingly, we fear that in this country, an influence is growing up through widely spread Societies, altogether at war with the spirit of our institutions, and which, unless jealously watched, will gradually but surely encroach on freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press. It is very striking to observe, how, by such combinations, the very means of encouraging a free action of men's minds, may be turned against it. We all esteem the press as the safeguard of our lib-

erties, as the power which is to quicken intellect by giving to all minds an opportunity to act on all. Now by means of Tract Societies, spread over a whole community, and acting under a central body, a few individuals, perhaps not more than twenty, may determine the chief reading for a great part of the children of the community, and for a majority of the adults, and may deluge our country with worthless sectarian writings, fitted only to pervert its taste, degrade its intellect, and madden it with intolerance. Let Associations devoted to any objects which excite the passions, be everywhere spread and leagued together for mutual support, and nothing is easier than to establish a control over newspapers. We are persuaded that by an artful multiplication of Societies, devoted apparently to different objects, but all swayed by the same leaders, and all intended to bear against a hated party, as cruel a persecution may be carried on in a free country as in a despotism. Public opinion may be so combined, and inflamed, and brought to bear on odious individuals or opinions, that it will be as perilous to think and speak with manly freedom, as if an Inquisition were open before us. It is now discovered that the way to rule in this country, is by an array of numbers, which a prudent man will not like to face. Of consequence, all Associations aiming or tending to establish sway by numbers, ought to be opposed. They create tyrants as effectually as standing armies. Let them be withstood from the beginning. No matter whether the opinions which they intend to put down be true or false. Let no opinion be put down by such means. Let not error be suppressed by an instrument, which will be equally powerful against truth, and which must subvert that freedom of thought on which all truth depends. Let the best end fail, if it cannot be accomplished by right and just means. For example, we would have criminals punished, but punished in the proper way, and by a proper authority. It were better that they should escape, than be imprisoned or executed by any man who may think fit to assume the office; for sure we are, that by this summary justice, the innocent would soon suffer more than the guilty; and on the same principle, we cannot consent that what we deem error should be crushed by the joint cries and denunciations of vast Societies directed by the tyranny of a few; for truth has more to dread from such weapons than falsehood, and we know no truth against which they may not be successfully turned. In this country, few things are more to be dread-

ed, than organizations or institutions by which public opinion may be brought to bear tyrannically against individuals or sects. From the nature of things, public opinion is often unjust; but when it is not embodied and fixed by pledged Societies, it easily relents, it may receive new impulses, it is open to influences from the injured. On the contrary, when shackled and stimulated by vast Associations, it is in danger of becoming a steady, unrelenting tyrant, browbeating the timid, proscribing the resolute, silencing free speech, and virtually denying the dearest religious and civil rights. We say not that all great Associations *must* be thus abused. We know that some are useful. We know, too, that there are cases, in which it is important that public opinion should be condensed, or act in a mass. We feel, however, that the danger of great Associations is increased by the very fact, that they are sometimes useful. They are perilous instruments. They ought to be suspected. They are a kind of irregular government created within our Constitutional government. Let them be watched closely. As soon as we find them resolved or disposed to bear down a respectable man or set of men, or to force on the community measures about which wise and good men differ, let us feel that a dangerous engine is at work among us, and oppose to it our steady and stern disapprobation.

We have spoken of the tendency of great institutions to accumulate power in a few hands. These few they make more active; but they tend to produce dependence, and to destroy self-originated action in the vast multitudes who compose them, and this is a serious injury. Few comprehend the extent of this evil. Individual action is the highest good. What we want, is, that men should do right more and more from their own minds, and less and less from imitation, from a foreign impulse, from sympathy with a crowd. This is the kind of action which we recommend. Would you do good according to the gospel? Do it secretly, silently; so silently that the left hand will not know what the right hand doeth. This precept does not favor the clamorous and far published efforts of a leagued multitude. We mean not to sever men from others in well-doing, for we have said there are many good objects which can only be accomplished by numbers. But generally speaking, we can do most good by individual action, and our own virtue is incomparably more improved by it. It is vastly better, for example, that we should give our own money with our own hands, from our own

judgment, and through personal interest in the distresses of others, than that we should send it by a substitute. Second-hand charity is not as good to the giver or receiver as immediate. There are, indeed, urgent cases where we cannot act immediately, or cannot alone do the good required. There let us join with others; but where we can do good secretly, and separately, or only with some dear friend, we shall almost certainly put forth in this way more of intellect and heart, more of sympathy and strenuous purpose, and shall awaken more of virtuous sensibility in those whom we relieve, than if we were to be parts of a multitude in accomplishing the same end. Individual action is the great point to be secured. That man alone understands the true use of society, who learns from it to act more and more from his own deliberate conviction, to think more for himself, to be less swayed by numbers, to rely more on his own powers. One good action, springing from our own minds, performed from a principle within, performed without the excitement of an urging and approving voice from abroad, is worth more than hundreds which grow from mechanical imitation, or from the heat and impulse which numbers give us. In truth, all great actions are solitary ones. All the great works of genius come from deep, lonely thought. The writings which have quickened, electrified, regenerated the human mind, did not spring from Associations. That is most valuable which is individual; which is marked by what is peculiar and characteristic in him who accomplishes it. In truth, Associations are chiefly useful by giving means and opportunities to gifted individuals to act out their own minds. A Missionary Society achieves little good, except when it can send forth an individual who wants no teaching or training from the Society, but who carries his commission and chief power in his own soul. We urge this, for we feel that we are all in danger of sacrificing our individuality and independence to our social connexions. We dread new social trammels. They are too numerous already. From these views we learn, that there is cause to fear and to withstand great Associations, as far as they interfere with, or restrain individual action, personal independence, private judgment, free, self-originated effort. We do fear, from not a few Associations which exist, that power is to be accumulated in the hands of a few, and a servile, tame, dependent spirit, to be generated in the many. Such is the danger of our times, and we are bound as Christians and free-men to withstand it.

We have now laid down the general principles, which, as we think, are to be applied to Associations for public objects. Another part of our work remains. We propose to offer some remarks on a few Societies, which at this time demand our patronage, or excite particular attention. In doing this, we shall speak with our customary freedom; but we beg that we may not be understood as censuring the motives of those whose plans and modes of operation we condemn.

The Associations for Suppressing Intemperance form an interesting feature of our times. Their object is of undoubted utility, and unites the hearts of all good men. They aim to suppress an undoubted and gross vice, to free its victims from the worst bondage, to raise them from brutal degradation to the liberty and happiness of men. There is one strong presumption in favor of the means which they have used. We have never heard of their awakening enmity and counteraction. In one particular some of them may have erred. We refer to the compact formed by their members for abstaining from wine. When we consider, that wine is universally acknowledged to be an innocent, and often salutary beverage, that Jesus sanctioned its use by miraculously increasing it at the marriage feast, that the scriptures teach us to thank God for it as a good gift, intended to 'gladden the heart of man,' and when to these considerations we add, that wine countries are distinguished for temperance, we are obliged to regard this pledge as injudicious; and we regret it, because it may bring distrust and contempt on an excellent institution, and because its abandonment, for it cannot long continue, may be construed by some as a warrant for returning to inebriating liquors. In one view, the success of the efforts against intemperance affords us peculiar satisfaction. It demonstrates a truth, little felt, but infinitely precious; namely, the recoverableness of human nature from the lowest depths of vice. It teaches us never to despair of a human being. It teaches us, that there is always something to work on, a germ to be unfolded, a spark which may be cherished, in the human soul. Intemperance is the most hopeless state into which a man can fall; and yet, instances of recovery from this vice have rewarded the recent labors of the philanthropist. Let philanthropy then rejoice in the belief, that the capacity of improvement is never lost, and let it convert this conviction into new and more strenuous efforts for the recovery of the most depraved.

We proceed now to Bible Societies. These need no advocates. Their object is so simple, unexceptionable, beneficent, that all Protestants, at least, concur in their support. By spreading the bible without note or comment, they especially assert the right of private judgment, and are thus free from the great reproach of trenching on christian freedom. Perhaps they have not always been conducted with sufficient prudence. We have particularly feared, that they might be open to the charge of indiscreet profusion. We believe it to be a good rule, that where the poor can give anything for a bible, no matter how little, they should be encouraged and incited to pay this part of the price. We believe, that it will be more valued, and more carefully preserved, where it has cost something. We do not think of the bible, as the superstitious among Catholics and heathens do of relics and charms, as if its mere presence in a family were a necessary good. We wish some pledge that it will be treated with respect, and we fear that this respect has been diminished by the lavishness with which it has been bestowed. One cause of the evil is, that Societies, like individuals, have a spice of vanity, and love to make a fair show in their annual reports; and accordingly they are apt to feel as if a favor were conferred, when their books are taken off their hands. We think that to secure respect to the bible is even more important than to distribute it widely. For this purpose, its exterior should be attractive. It should be printed in a fair, large type, should be well bound, and be provided with a firm case. This last provision seems to us especially important. The poor have no book-cases. Their bibles too often lie on the same shelves with their domestic utensils; nor can it be doubted, that when soiled, torn, dishonored by this exposure, they are regarded with less respect, than if protected with peculiar care.

We have a still more important remark to make in reference to Bible Societies. In our last number, we noticed an edition of the New Testament recently published in Boston, and differing from those in common use, by a new translation of those passages of the Greek original, of which the true reading was lost or neglected when the received English version was made. This edition of the New Testament we stated to be *undoubtedly* more correct, more conformed to the original, than our common editions. On this point we speak strongly, because we wish to call to it the attention of Bible Societies, and of all conscientious

Christians. To such we say,—Here is a translation, undoubtedly more faithful to the original than that in common use. You have here in greater purity what Jesus Christ said, and what his apostles wrote; and if so, you are bound by your allegiance to Christ to substitute this for the common translation. We know, that uneducated Christians cannot settle this question. We therefore respectfully, and with solemnity, solicit for it the attention of learned men, of christian ministers, of professors of theology of every sect and name. We ask for the calmest and most deliberate investigation, and if, as we believe, there shall be but one opinion as to the claims of the version which we have recommended; if all must acknowledge that it renders more faithfully the words of the inspired and authorised teachers of Christianity, then we see not how it can be denied the reception and diffusion which it deserves. We conceive, that, to Bible Societies, this is a great question, and not to be evaded without unfaithfulness to our common Master, and without disrespect to the holy scriptures. We fear that there is a want of conscientiousness on this subject. We fear that the British and Foreign Bible Society has forfeited, in a measure, its claims to the gratitude and admiration of the church, by neglecting to secure the greatest possible accuracy and fidelity to the new translations which they have sent forth. We hear continual expressions of reverence for the bible; but the most unambiguous proofs of it, we mean, unwearied efforts to purify it from human additions, mutilations, and corruptions, remain to be given.

Before leaving the consideration of Bible Societies, we cannot but refer to a very singular transaction in relation to the scriptures, in which some of them are thought to be implicated. In some of our cities and villages, we are told, that the rich as well as the poor have been visited for the purpose of ascertaining whether they own the bible. The object of this domiciliary investigation we profess not to understand. We cannot suppose, that it was intended to lavish on the rich the funds which were contributed for spreading the scriptures among the poor. One thing we know, that a measure more likely to irritate and to be construed into an insult, could not easily be contrived. As a sign of the times, it deserves our notice. After this step, it ought not to surprise us should an Inquisition be established, to ascertain who among us observe, and who neglect the duties of private and family prayer. We might smile at this spirit, could we tell where it would stop. But it is essentially prying, restless and encroaching, and its first movements ought to be withstood.

We now proceed to another class of Associations; those which are designed to promote the Observance of the Sabbath. The motives which gave birth to these, we respect. But we doubt the rectitude and usefulness of the object, and we fear that what has begun in conscientiousness may end in intolerance and oppression. We cannot say of these Associations, as of those which we have just noticed, that they aim at an unquestionable good, about which all good men agree. Not a few of the wisest and best men dissent from the principle on which these Societies are built; namely, that the Jewish sabbath is binding on Christians. Not a few of the profoundest divines and most exemplary followers of Christ, have believed and still believe, that the sabbath enjoined in the fourth commandment, is a part of Judaism, and not of the gospel; that it is essentially different from the Lord's-day, and that to enforce it on Christians, is to fall into that error which Paul withstood even unto death, the error of adulterating Christianity by mixtures of a preparatory and very inferior religion.

We beg to be understood. All Christians, whom we know, concur in the opinion and the desire, that the Lord's-day, or the first day of the week, should be separated to the commemoration of Christ's resurrection, to public worship, to public christian instruction, and in general to what are called the means of religion. This we gratefully accept and honor as a christian rite. But not a few believe that the Lord's-day and the ancient sabbath are not the same institution, and ought not to be confounded; that the former is of a nobler character, and more important than the latter, and that the mode of observing it is to be determined by the spirit and purposes of Christianity, and not by any preceding law. This is a question about which Christians have differed for ages. We certainly wish that it may be debated, till it is settled. But we grieve to see a questionable doctrine made the foundation of large Societies, and to see Christians leagued to pass the sentence of irreligion on men equally virtuous with themselves, and who perhaps better understand the mind of Christ in regard to the sabbath.

We know that it is confidently affirmed, that God, at an earlier period than the Jewish law, enjoined the sabbath as a perpetual, universal, irrevocable law for the whole human race. But can this position be sustained? For ourselves, we cannot see a trace of it in the scriptures, those only sure records of God's revela-

tion to mankind. We do indeed incline to believe, what many wise men have questioned, that there are appearances of the institution of the sabbath at the beginning of the human race. We know that these are faint and few; yet we attach importance to them, because nature and reason favor the supposition of a time having been set apart from the first as a religious memorial. Whilst, however, we incline to this view as most probable, we see no proofs of the perpetuity of the institution in the circumstance of its early origin. On the contrary, an ordinance or rite, given in the infancy of the human race, may be presumed to be temporary, unless its unchangeableness is expressly taught, or is necessarily implied in its very nature. The positive or ritual religion, which was adapted to the earlier, can hardly suit the maturer periods of the race. Man is a progressive being, and needs a progressive religion. It is one of the most interesting and beautiful features of the sacred writings, and one of the strong evidences of their truth, that they reveal religion as a growing light, and manifest the Divine Legislator as adapting himself to the various and successive conditions of the world. Allowing then the sabbath to have been given to Adam, we could no more infer its perpetuity, than we can infer the perpetuity of capital punishment, as an ordinance of God, because he said to Noah, the second parent of the human race, 'Whoso shed-deth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'

Our opinion leans, as we have said, to the early institution of the sabbath; but we repeat it, the presumptions on which our judgments rest are too uncertain to authorise confidence, much less denunciation. The greater part of the early Fathers of the Church, according to Calmet, believed that the law of the sabbath was not given before Moses; and this, as we have observed, is the opinion of some of the most judicious and pious Christians of later times. Whilst disposed to differ from these, we feel that the subject is to be left to the calm decision of individuals. We want no array of numbers to settle a doubtful question. One thing is plain, that before Moses, not one precept is given in relation to the sabbath, nor a hint of its unchangeableness to the end of the world. One thing is plain, that the question of the perpetuity of this institution is to be settled by the teachings of Jesus Christ, the great prophet, who alone is authorised to determine how far the institutions of religion which preceded him, are binding on his followers. For ourselves, we are followers of Christ, and not of Moses, or Noah, or Adam. We call ourselves Chris-

tians, and the gospel is our only rule. Nothing in the Old Testament binds us, any further than it is recognised by, or incorporated into the New. The great and only question, then, is, Does the New Testament, does Christianity, impose on us the ancient sabbath?

To aid us in settling this question, we may first inquire into the nature and design of this institution; and nothing can be plainer. Words cannot make it clearer. According to the Old Testament, the seventh, or last day of the week, was to be set apart, or sanctified, as a day of rest, in commemoration of God's having rested on that day from the work of creation.* The distinguishing feature of the institution, is *rest*. The word sabbath means rest. The event to be commemorated was rest. The reason for selecting the seventh, was, that this had been to the Creator a day of rest. The chief method prescribed for sanctifying the day was rest. The distinctive character of the institution could not have been more clearly expressed. Whoever reads the fourth commandment, will see, that no mode of setting apart the day to God, is there prescribed, except an imitation of his rest. How far this constituted the sanctification of the sabbath, will be seen from such passages as the following. 'You shall keep the sabbath, for it is holy unto you. Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death. For whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people.'† A still more remarkable proof, that the sanctification of the sabbath consisted in resting after the example of God, is furnished by Christ, who says, that 'on the sabbath days the priests in the Temple *profane* the sabbath.‡ So essential was rest to the hallowing of the day, that the work of offering victims, though prescribed by God himself, is said to

* We beg our readers to observe, that we are now simply stating the account of the sabbath which is given in the Old Testament. How this account is to be interpreted, is a question not involved in our present subject. We would however observe, that the rest here ascribed to God must be understood in a figurative sense. Properly speaking, God, who is incapable of fatigue, and whose almighty agency is unceasing, never rests. In finishing the work of creation, he did not sink into repose, or for a moment desist from the exercise of his omnipotence. A particular mode of his agency was discontinued; and, in accommodation to an uncultivated age, this discontinuance was called rest. It seems to us, that the sabbath bears one mark of a temporary institution, in the fact of its being founded on a representation of God, which is true only in a figurative or popular sense, and which gives something like a shock to a mind, which has exalted its conceptions of the Divinity. Such an institution does not carry the impress of a perpetual and universal law.

† Exod. xxxi. 14, also Jer. xvii. 22.

‡ Matt. xii. 5.

profane it. There are indeed some expressions of Moses, indicating other methods of observing the day, for he calls it 'a holy convocation;' but whether this phrase applies to other places besides the Temple, is uncertain. It is not improbable, indeed, that the people resorted to the Levites and prophets on the sabbath rather than other days; but we find no precept to this effect; and it is well known that no synagogues or places of worship were built, through Judea, until after the captivity. Rest, then, was the great distinction of the day. This constituted it a memorial, and gave it its name; and we conceive that the chief stress was laid on this circumstance, because the sabbath was intended to answer a humane, as well as religious end; that is, to give relief to persons in servitude, and to inferior animals, a provision very much needed in an unrefined and semi-barbarous age, when slavery had no acknowledged rights, and when little mercy was shown to man or beast. In conformity to these views, we find the Jewish nation always regarding the sabbath as a joyful day, a festival. In the time of Christ, we find him bidden to a feast on the sabbath day, and accepting the invitation,* and our impression is, that now, as in past times, the Jews divide the day between the synagogue and social enjoyment.

The nature and end of the sabbath cannot be easily misunderstood. It was the seventh or last day of the week, set apart by God as a day of rest, in imitation and in commemoration of his having rested on that day from the creation. That other religious observances were with great propriety introduced into the day, and that they were multiplied with the progress of the nation, we do not doubt. But the distinctive observance, and the only one expressly enjoined on the whole people, was rest. Now we ask, Is the dedication of the seventh or last day of the week to rest, in remembrance of God's resting on that day, a part of the christian religion? The answer seems to us plain. We affirm, in the first place, what none will contradict, that this institution is not enjoined in the New Testament, even by the faintest hint or implication; and in the next place, we maintain that the christian world, so far from finding it there, have by their practice disowned its authority.

This last position may startle some of our readers. But it is not therefore less true. We maintain that the christian world have in practice disowned the obligation of the sabbath estab-

* Luke, xiv.

lished by the fourth commandment. There is indeed a body of Christians, called Sabbatarians, who strictly and religiously observe the fourth commandment. But they are a handful; they are lost, swallowed up in the immense majority of Christians, who have for ages ceased to observe the sabbath prescribed from Sinai. True, Christians have their sacred day, which they call a sabbath. But is it in truth the ancient sabbath? We say, no; and we call attention to this point. The ancient sabbath, as we have seen, was the last day of the week, set apart for rest, in commemoration of God's resting on that day. And is the first day of the week a day observed in remembrance of Christ's resurrection from the dead, the same institution with this? Can broader marks between two ordinances be conceived? Is it possible that they can be confounded? Is not the ancient sabbath renounced by the christian world? Have we not thus the testimony of the christian world to its having passed away? Who of us can consistently plead for it as a universal and perpetual law?

We know, that it is said, that the ancient sabbath remains untouched; that Christianity has only removed it from the last to the first day of the week, and that this is a slight, unessential change, leaving the old institution whole and unbroken. To this we have several replies. In the first place this change of days, which Christianity is supposed to make, is not unessential, but vital, and subversive of the ancient institution. The end of the ancient sabbath was the commemoration of God's resting from his works, and for this end, the very day of the week on which he rested, was most wisely selected. Now we maintain, that to select the first day of the week, the very day on which he began his works, and to select and separate this in commemoration of another event, of Christ's resurrection, is wholly to set aside the ancient sabbath. We cannot conceive of a more essential departure from the original ordinance. This substitution, as it is called, is a literal as well as virtual abolition. Such is our first remark.—We say secondly, that not a word is uttered in the New Testament of the first day being substituted for the seventh. Surely so striking a change would not have been made in a universal and perpetual law of God, without some warning. We ask for some hint of this modification of the fourth commandment. We find not a syllable.—We say thirdly, that the first Christians knew nothing of this substitution. Our evidence here is complete. The first converts to Christianity were Jews, and these converts

had at first no conception of the design of Christianity to supersede the law of Moses. This law they continued to observe for years, and to observe it as rigorously as ever. When Paul visited Jerusalem, after many labors among the Gentiles, the elders 'said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the law.'* Of course they all observed the Jewish sabbath, or seventh day of rest, the greatest of Jewish festivals, whilst, as we all believe, they honored also the first day, the remembrancer of Christ's resurrection. This state of things existed for years in the primitive church. The two days were observed together. Nothing more seems necessary to disprove unanswerably the common doctrine, that the apostles enjoined the substitution of the first for the seventh day.—We will add one more argument. Paul commands the Colossian Christians to disregard the censures of those who judged or condemned them for not observing the sabbath. 'Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days.'† This passage is very plain. It is evaded, however, by the plea, that the word 'sabbath,' was used to express not only the seventh day, but other festivals or days of rest. But when we recollect that the word is used by Paul in this place without any exception or limitation, and that it was employed at that time, most frequently and almost wholly, to express the seventh day, or weekly sabbath, we shall see, that we have the strongest reason for supposing this institution to be intended by the apostle. That a Christian, after reading this passage, should 'judge,' or condemn his brethren, for questioning or rejecting his particular notion of the sabbath, is a striking proof of the slow progress of tolerant and liberal principles among men. We need not add, after these remarks, how unjustifiable we deem it to enforce particular modes of observing this day, by an array of Associations.

Having thus stated what seem to us strong reasons against the perpetuity of the ancient sabbath, perhaps some of our readers may wish to know our views of the Lord's-day, and although the subject may seem foreign to the present article, we will give our opinion in a few words. We believe, that the first day of the week is to be set apart for the public worship of God, and for the promotion of the knowledge and practice of Chris-

* Acts, xxi. 20.

† Col. ii. 16.

tianity, and that it was selected for this end in honor of the resurrection of Christ. To this view we are led by the following considerations. Wherever the gospel was preached, its professors were formed into churches or congregations, and ministers were appointed for their instruction or edification. Wherever Christianity was planted, societies for joint religious acts and improvement were instituted, as the chief means of establishing and diffusing it. Now it is plain, that for these purposes regular times must have been prescribed, and accordingly we find that it was the custom of the primitive Christians to hold their religious assemblies on the first day of the week, the day of Christ's resurrection. This we learn from the New Testament, and from the universal testimony of the earliest ages of the church. Wherever Christianity was spread, the first day was established as the season of christian worship and instruction. Such are the grounds on which this institution rests. We regard it as altogether a *christian institution*; as having its origin in the gospel, as peculiar to the new dispensation; and we conceive that the proper observation of it is to be determined wholly by the spirit of Christianity. We meet in the New Testament no precise rules as to the mode of spending the Lord's-day, as to the mode of worship and teaching, as to the distribution of the time not given to public services. And this is just what might be expected; for the gospel is not a religion of precise rules. It differs from Judaism in nothing more than in its free character. It gives great principles, broad views, general, prolific, all-comprehensive precepts, and entrusts the application of them to the individual. It sets before us the perfection of our nature, the spirit which we should cherish, the virtues which constitute 'the kingdom of heaven within us,' and leaves us to determine for ourselves, in a great measure, the discipline by which these noble ends are to be secured. Let not man, then, bind what Christ has left free. The modes of worship and teaching on the Lord's-day are not prescribed, and who will say that they cannot be improved? One reason of the neglect and limited influence of this institution, is, that, as now observed, it does not correspond sufficiently to the wants of our times; and we fear that it might even fall into contempt among the cultivated, should attempts be prosecuted to carry it back to the superstitious rigor by which it was degraded in a former age.

The Associations for promoting the Observance of the Sab-

bath, propose several objects, in which, to a certain extent, we heartily concur, but which, from their nature, are not susceptible of precise definition or regulation, and which, therefore, ought to be left, where Christianity has left them, to the consciences of individuals. They undoubtedly intend to discountenance labor on Sunday. Now, generally speaking, abstinence from labor seems to us a plain duty of the day; for we see not how its ends can otherwise be accomplished to any considerable extent. We do not believe, indeed, that this abstinence was rigidly practised by the first Christians at Jerusalem, who, as we have seen, gave up the seventh day to entire rest, and whose social duties could hardly have admitted the same appropriation of the following day. Neither do we believe that the converts who were made among the class of slaves in heathen countries, abstained from labor on the first day of the week; for, in so doing, they would have exposed themselves to the severest punishments, even to death, and we have no intimation that this portion of believers were regularly cut off by martyrdom. We know, however, that the early Christians, in proportion as they were relieved from the restrictions of Heathenism and Judaism, made the Lord's-day a season of abstinence from labor; and the arguments for so doing are so obvious and strong, that later Christians have concurred with them with hardly a dissenting voice. On this point there is, and can be, no difference. The change of Sunday into a working day, we should condemn as earnestly as any of our brethren. At the same time, we feel, that in this particular a Jewish rigor is not to be imposed on Christians, and that there are exigences justifying toil on the first day, which must be left to individual judgment. The great purposes of this festival may certainly be accomplished without that scrupulous, anxious shunning of every kind of work, which marked a Jewish sabbath, and which, however proper under a servile dispensation and in an age of darkness, would in us be superstition. We do not, for example, think Christians bound to prepare on Saturday every meal for the following day, or to study through the week how to remove the necessity of every bodily exertion on the approaching Sunday. We think, too, that cases may occur, which justify severe toil on this day; and we should judge a man unfaithful to himself and his family, ungrateful to Providence, and superstitious, who should lose a crop rather than harvest it during the portion of time ordinarily set apart

for christian worship. On these points Christianity has left us free. The individual must be his own judge, and we deprecate the attempts of Societies to legislate, on this indefinite subject, for their fellow Christians.

Another purpose of the Associations of which we speak, is, to stop the mail on Sunday. On this point, a great difference of opinion prevails among the most conscientious men. It may be remembered, that, in a former number of this work, there was an article on the sabbath, discouraging this attempt to interrupt the mail. We think it right to say, that among the contributors to this work, and among its best friends, a diversity of sentiment exists in regard to this difficult question. In one respect, however, we all agree; and that is, in the inexpediency of organizing, in opposition to the Sunday mail, a vast Association, which may be easily perverted to political purposes, which, from its very object, will be tempted to meddle with government, and which, by setting up a concerted and joint cry, may overpower, and load with reproach, the most conscientious men in the community.

Another purpose of these Associations, is, to discourage travelling on the Lord's-day. Nothing can well be plainer, than that unnecessary travelling on this day is repugnant to its duties and design, and is to be reprov'd in writing, preaching, and conversation. By unnecessary travelling, we mean that which is not required by some particular exigency. When we consider, however, that in such a community as ours, distinguished by extent and variety of intercourse, exigences must continually occur, we feel, that here is another point with which Societies have no right to interfere, and which must be left to the conscience of the individual. In such a community as ours, how many persons may be found on every Sunday, the state of whose health, the state of whose families, the state of whose affairs, may require them to travel. It may happen, that another's property confided to our care may be lost, that a good object may fail, that some dying or departing friend may go from us unseen, if on this day we will not begin or pursue a journey. How often is it difficult for the traveller to find an inn, the quiet and comforts of which make it a fit residence for Sunday. An Association against travelling on Sunday, seems to us a very hazardous expedient, and its members, we think, will be fortunate if they escape the guilt of censoriousness and dictation, on a subject which Providence has plainly exempted

from human legislation. We know that it will be said, that the license which we give by these remarks, will be abused ; and of this we have no doubt. We know no truth, no privilege, no power, no blessing, no right, which is not abused. But is liberty to be denied to men, because they often turn it into licentiousness? We have read of certain sects, which have denounced indiscriminately all sports and relaxations, because these, if allowed, will be carried to excess ; and of others, which have prescribed by laws the plainest, coarsest dress, because ornament, if in any measure tolerated, would certainly grow up into extravagance and vanity. And is this degrading legislation never to end? Are men never to be trusted to themselves? Is it God's method to hem them in with precise prescriptions? Does Providence leave nothing to individual discretion? Does Providence withhold every privilege which may be abused? Does Christianity enjoin an exact, unvarying round of services, because reason and conscience, if allowed to judge of duty, will often be misguided by partiality and passion? How liberal, generous, confiding, are nature, Providence, and Christianity, in their dealings with men! And when will men learn to exercise towards one another the same liberal and confiding spirit?

We have thus considered some of the particular purposes of the Associations for promoting the Observance of the Sabbath. We say, their 'particular purposes.' We apprehend there is a general one, which lurks in a portion of their members, which few perhaps have stated very distinctly to themselves, but which is not therefore the less real, and of which it is well to be forewarned. We apprehend that some, and not a small party, have a vague, instinctive feeling, that the kind of Christianity which they embrace, requires for its diffusion a gloomy sabbath, the Puritan sabbath ; and we incline to believe that they are desirous to separate the Lord's-day as much as possible from all other days, to make it a season of rigid restraint, that it may be a preparation for a system of theology, which the mind, in a natural, free, and cheerful state, can never receive. The sabbath of the Puritans and their Calvinistic peculiarities go together. Now we wish the return of neither. The Puritans, measured by their age, have indeed many claims on respect, especially those of them who came to this country, and who, through their fortunate exile, escaped the corruption, which the civil war, and the possession of power, engendered in the Puritan body of England. But sincere respect for the men of

early times, may be joined with a clear perception of their weaknesses and errors ; and it becomes us to remember, that errors, which in them were innocent, because inevitable, may deserve a harsher appellation if perpetuated in their posterity.

We have no desire, it will be seen, to create huge Associations for enforcing or recommending the Lord's-day. We desire, however, that this interesting subject may engage more attention. We wish the Lord's-day to be more honored and more observed ; and we believe that there is but one way for securing this good, and that is, to make the day more useful, to turn it to better account, to introduce such changes into it as shall satisfy judicious men, that it is adapted to great and happy results. The Sunday which has come down to us from our fathers seems to us exceedingly defective. The clergy have naturally taken it very much into their own hands, and, we apprehend, that as yet they have not discovered all the means of making it a blessing to mankind. It may well excite surprise, how little knowledge has been communicated on the Lord's-day. We think, that the present age admits and requires a more extensive teaching than formerly ; a teaching not only in sermons, but in more instructive exercises, which will promote a critical and growing acquaintance with the scriptures ; will unfold morality or duty, at once in its principles and vast details ; will guide the common mind to larger views, and to a more religious use of nature and history ; and will reveal to it its own godlike powers. We think, too, that this great intellectual activity may be relieved and cheered by a mixture of greater benevolent activity ; by attention to public and private charities, and by domestic and social kindnesses.* It seems to us that we are waking up to understand the various uses to which Sunday may be applied. The present devotion of a considerable portion of it to the teaching of children, makes an important era in the history of the institution. The teaching of the ignorant and poor, we trust, is to follow. On this subject we cannot enlarge, but enough has been said to show in what way Sunday is to be recommended to the understandings and consciences of men.

In these remarks we have expressed our reverence for the Lord's-day. To us it is a more important day, and conse-

* Would not the business of our public charities be done more effectually on the Lord's-day than on any other, and would not such an appropriation of a part of this time accord peculiarly with the spirit of Christianity ?

crated to nobler purposes, than the ancient sabbath. We are bound, however, to state, that we cannot acquiesce in the distinctions which are often made between this and other days, for they seem to us at once ungrounded and pernicious. We sometimes hear, for example, that the Lord's-day is set apart from our common lives to religion. What! Are not all days equally set apart to religion? Has religion more to do with Sunday than with any other portion of time? Is there any season, over which piety should not preside?—So the day is sometimes distinguished as 'holy.' What! Is there stronger obligation to holiness on one day than on another? Is it more holy to pray in the church than to pray in the closet, or than to withstand temptation in common life? The true distinction of Sunday is, that it is consecrated to certain means or direct acts of religion. But these are not holier than other duties. They are certainly not more important than their end, which is a virtuous life. There is, we fear, a superstition on this point, unworthy of the illumination of Christianity. We earnestly recommend the Lord's-day, but we dare not esteem its duties above those of other days. We prize and recommend it as an institution through which our whole lives are to be sanctified and ennobled; and without this fruit, vain, and worse than vain, are the most rigid observances, the most costly sacrifices, the loudest and most earnest prayers. We would on no account disparage the offices of the Lord's-day. We delight in this peaceful season, so fitted to allay the feverish heat and anxieties of active life, to cherish self-communion and communion with God and with the world to come. It is good to meet as brethren in the church, to pray together, to hear the word of God, to retire for a time from ordinary labors, that we may meditate on great truths more deliberately, and with more continuous attention. In these duties we see a fitness, excellence, and happiness; but still, if a comparison must be made, they seem to us less striking proofs of piety and virtue, than are found in the disinterestedness, the self-control, the love of truth, the scorn of ill-gotten wealth, the unshaken trust in God, the temperate and grateful enjoyment, the calm and courageous sufferings for duty, to which the Christian is called in daily life. It is right to adore God's goodness in the hour of prayer; but does it not seem more excellent to carry in our souls the conviction of this goodness, as our spring and pattern, and to breathe it forth in

acts conformed to the beneficence of our Maker? It is good to seek strength from God in the church ; but does it not seem more excellent to use well this strength in the sore conflicts of life, and to rise through it to a magnanimous and victorious virtue? Such comparisons, however, we have no pleasure in making, and they are obviously exposed to error. The enlightened Christian 'esteemeth every day alike.' To him all days bring noble duties ; bring occasions of a celestial piety and virtue ; bring trials, in wrestling with which he may grow strong ; bring aids and incitements, through which he may rise above himself. All days may be holy, and the holiest is that in which he yields himself, with the most single-hearted, unshrinking, uncompromising purpose, to the will of God.

We intended to add remarks on some other Associations, particularly on the Peace Society. But we have exceeded our limits, and must forbear. Our remarks have been free, but, we trust, will not be misunderstood. We look with interest and hope on the spirit of association, which characterizes our times. We rejoice in this, as in every manifestation of a desire for the improvement of mankind. We have done what we could to secure this powerful instrument against perversion. Through a wise and jealous care, we doubt not that it will minister to that only sure good, the intellectual and moral progress of the human race.

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A. Examiner.

ART. I.—*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr.* By JOHN, Bishop of Lincoln, and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Cambridge and London. 1829. 8vo. pp. 219.

OF the ancient Fathers of the Church, none have stronger claims on our attention than Justin, usually termed the Philosopher and Martyr. His writings are peculiarly interesting from the age in which they were produced, and the circumstances which called them forth. If we except the supposed productions of a few individuals, who have been called Apostolic Fathers, works of which the authorship of none, and the antiquity of but few, can be ascertained, they are the earliest christian writings, after those embraced in the New Testament, which have escaped the ravages of time. They carry us back to the former part of the second century; to a period not very remote from the death of the last of the little band, who saw and conversed with Jesus, and were commissioned to teach in his name. As a record of facts they furnish useful, though not very ample, materials of history. They have excited attention, too, if they do not derive importance, from the rank and early studies of their author.

The primitive converts were chiefly uneducated men, and the first writers, subsequent to the apostles, obtained not the celebrity either of genius or learning. They were persons of undoubted probity, and had sincerity, courage, and ardor, worthy the best of causes. But they were destitute of human

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literature, and wrote apparently in a plain unambitious style, seldom refining on the truths they received and transmitted, and never indulging in any abstract reasoning, nor attempting any methodical arrangement of their thoughts. They were neither critics nor philosophers. We make no exception in favor either of Barnabas or Clement, Ignatius or Polycarp, and certainly not of Hermas, if he is the author of any portion of the writings which have gone about under his name, and are now extant.

But Justin was a philosopher before he became a Christian, and with him the philosophical age may be said to have commenced. It is true, Quadratus and Aristides wrote Apologies before him,* and the latter especially, an Athenian, is reported to have been a learned man; yet only their fame survives, nor is it known that their philosophical opinions, whatever they were, had any influence in bringing about that corruption of the christian doctrine, which may be traced back to the time of Justin, and to the production of which his efforts and example largely contributed. Of this corruption he may in fact be considered the author, and this circumstance tends greatly to qualify the feeling of approbation and respect to which his talents and labors would seem to entitle him. That his writings have exerted a very injurious influence, there can, in our view, be no doubt. Nor were their effects temporary and transient. The errors, which they, and subsequent writings of a similar character, were the means of introducing and incorporating with the simple faith of Jesus, still, after a period of nearly seventeen centuries, retain their hold in the world, though, as we trust, it is becoming daily more and more enfeebled.

There was that, however, in the character of Justin, which commands our admiration. He was in several respects a light and ornament of his age. He labored with zeal, if not with discretion, in the cause of his Master, and having obtained the honors of martyrdom, left a name which the gratitude of Christians has delighted to cherish.

Materials are wanting for an extended biographical notice of Justin. The little we know of him is culled chiefly from his own writings. They have preserved a few incidents of his life, and tradition has added a little, though but little, to the stock. He was a native of Palestine, and was born, as he tells us, at Flavia

* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. L. iv. c. 3. These Apologies were addressed to the Emperor Adrian, about A. D. 125 or 126.

Neapolis, the ancient Sychem, or Sychar, as it is called in the New Testament, afterwards Neapolis, and now Nablous, Naplouse, or Napolose, a city of Samaria, and, as Josephus informs us,* the metropolis of that country at the time Alexander entered Judea. Here probably his ancestors had, for some time, resided, since he calls the Samaritans his nation and race, though we are authorised to infer from his own expressions, that he was of Pagan extraction. Of his father and grandfather he has told us only the names. That of the former was Priscus, and that of the latter Bacchius.

The time of his birth cannot be ascertained with certainty. Tillemont adduces some arguments to prove, that it may be referred to the year 103 of our era.† That he was born very early in the second century and during the reign of Trajan, seems highly probable, though there have not been wanting those who place the date of his birth as far back as the year 89; and of this number are Fabricius‡ and Grabe.§ He appears to have possessed a liberal curiosity and an ardent thirst of knowledge. He had formed an exalted conception of the object and uses of philosophy, the only treasure, in his view, worth the attainment, implying, as he conceived, a knowledge of all that pertained to God and to felicity.|| This had been sought by him, as he informs us, in the schools of Zeno, of Aristotle, and Pythagoras, but in vain. His first instructor, a Stoic, could impart little knowledge of God, nor did he seem to place any value upon it; his second, a Peripatetic, and, as he thought himself, a very astute philosopher, had the meanness, as Justin considered it, to expect a stipulated fee for teaching; and his third, a conceited Pythagorean, was unreasonable enough to demand of his pupils a previous knowledge of music, astronomy, and geometry, as tending to refine and ennoble the conceptions, and thus assist the mind to comprehend abstract and mental truths, and rise at last to a contemplation of the good and fair. Of this preparatory information Justin was destitute, and was therefore compelled to leave him, which he did, he says, with the more regret, as he had conceived a high opinion of his merit. He seems now for a time to have resigned him-

* *Antiq. L. xi. c. 8.*

† *Eccles. Mem. II. pp. 528-9. Lon. 1735.*

‡ *Biblioth. Græc. T. V. pp. 51, 52.*

§ *Spicilegium Patrum, II. 156, 7.*

|| *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 102, Ed. Par. 1742,* to which all our references are made, unless Thirlby's is specified.

self to grief and melancholy, ignorant whither next to turn. The lofty pretensions of the Platonists, at length, awoke him from his dream of suspense. This sect was then in great repute, and excelled, particularly, as it was thought, in a knowledge of the divine nature and operations, upon which subjects its founder had discoursed with a copiousness and eloquence, which charmed the imagination, though his obscurity and mysticism might occasionally baffle the understandings, of his followers. To one of these, who had recently taken up his abode at Neapolis, where it seems Justin continued to reside, he joined himself, and his fondest hopes appeared now about to be realized. His attention was directed to subjects congenial with his tastes and feelings. Plato's incorporeal essences delighted him. The contemplation of ideas, or intelligible forms, the patterns and archetypes of things visible, added wings to his imagination. He thought himself already wise, and was foolish enough to believe, that if he persevered, he should soon be able to behold God himself, for this, he adds, 'is the end of Plato's philosophy.'*

Justin appears to have been a genuine lover of the marvellous. He was ardent, imaginative, and strongly inclined to mysticism, and hence the most extravagant dreams of the Platonists found a ready reception with him, and his mind soon acquired a taint from this source, which was never removed. He retained after his conversion his former partiality for the doctrine of *ideas*, as taught in the Platonic schools, which he considered too difficult and sublime a doctrine to have originated in the subtlest human genius, and he therefore concluded that Plato must have stolen 'so great a mystery' from Moses.

That he might suffer no interruption, and be enabled the better to engage in those contemplations by which he expected, in a short time, to rise to a vision of the Divinity, he now resolves to fly from the society of men, and bury himself in the depths of solitude. For this purpose, he selected a retired spot near the sea. As he approached this spot, he observed, he tells us, an aged man of a venerable aspect, and grave, though apparently gentle demeanour, following him at a little distance, and turning he entered into conversation with him. The conference was a long one; and the old man, adopting somewhat of the Socratic method, appears often to have perplexed his youthful antagonist. He exposed the absurd pretensions of the philosophers, pointed

* Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 102-104.

out the futility of their speculations, and concluded by directing his attention to the Hebrew Prophets, who alone, he affirmed, saw and taught the truth, and, moved by a divine impulse, unfolded visions of the future. But, 'Pray,' says he, 'that the gates of light may be opened to thee, for none can perceive and comprehend these things, except God and his Christ grant them understanding.'

Justin was impressed. He had previously witnessed the constancy of the martyrs. He had observed the tranquillity and fortitude with which they encountered death, and all other evils which appear terrible to man, and he justly inferred, that they could not be profligate, who could so patiently endure.* He had long believed them innocent of the crimes imputed to them. He was now prepared to think that they held the truth. He reflected on the words of the venerable stranger, and was convinced that they inculcated the 'only safe and useful philosophy.'†

Such is his own account ‡ of the manner in which he became a Christian, or, as he expresses it, a philosopher; for he was fond of retaining the name, as he also continued to wear the

* Apol. ii. p. 96.

† Dial. pp. 101-108.

‡ This account, as we have said, is given in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, and must therefore be received, we suppose, as a genuine history of his conversion, unless the *Dialogue* is a fictitious composition after the manner of Plato's *Dialogues*. This species of writing, in which imaginary personages are introduced as engaged in real discourse or argument, appears to have been a favorite one with the ancients. Plato had adopted it with success, and the charms of his *Dialogues* were universally felt and acknowledged, and Cicero and others employed it after him. It is not improbable that Justin, who, as we know, was a warm admirer of Plato, might have been influenced by his example to attempt a style of composition which possessed so many attractions. That this was actually the case, we think the pervading tone, in fact the whole air and costume of the dialogue, if we may be allowed so to express ourselves, afford abundant evidence. We can never persuade ourselves that Justin's meek and supple Jew was a real personage. He is too patient of abuse, and concedes too much to his antagonist. Nor, had he been a learned Jew as is supposed, whether Rabbi Tarphon, as some will have it, or any other Rabbi, would he have allowed Justin's gross blunders in Hebrew chronology, history, and criticism to have passed without censure. That he might have held a dispute or disputes with the Jews, is highly probable, for he was not accustomed to shrink from a trial of his strength in debate; and that the substance of one or more of these interviews may have been retained in the dialogue, or at least have furnished hints of which he made some use, is quite as probable. From these, and other materials suggested by conversation and reading, the piece was no doubt made up; but the style and dress, the rhetorical embellishment, the whole form and structure, are Justin's. It is no more a real dialogue, we are persuaded, than similar compositions of Cicero or of Bishop Berkley. He borrowed; unquestionably, like the authors of fictitious

dress of a Grecian sage. Eusebius* informs us that he preached Christianity in the philosophers' garb, which consisted of a sort of cloak or mantle of a peculiar form, and usually of a black color; and it was this garb, as we learn from himself, which imposed on Trypho the Jew and led him to address him as a philosopher.

Of the date of his conversion nothing can with certainty be affirmed. The year 132 or 133 of the common era, however, is usually assigned, probably with some near approach to truth. After his conversion but few notices of him occur in his own writings, and we gather little, on which we can depend, from other sources. In a treatise, † which bears his name, though its genuineness has been strongly contested, we find incidental mention of him as having been in Campania and Egypt, ‡ and Ephesus is the scene of his celebrated Dialogue with Trypho. It is not improbable, that his zeal for the propagation of Christianity may have led him to visit these and other places. His usual residence, however, as Eusebius informs us, § was at Rome. He was certainly much there, and if the piece, called the Acts of his Martyrdom, be entitled to any credit as a historical memoir, he dwelt at a place called Timothy's Baths, on the Viminal Mount, where he conversed freely with all who resorted to him, and by discourse and writings, engaged, as occasion offered, in defence of Christianity, and fearlessly met and repelled the foul charges brought against its professors.

He is supposed to have written his first or larger Apology, addressed to the emperor, Antoninus Pius, and his adopted sons, Marcus Antoninus and Lucius, to the Senate, and people of Rome, about the year 140, though some, and among them Tillemont, Grabe, and the editor of the last Paris edition, place the period of its composition as late as 150, and others, as Dodwell, Basnage, Petavius, and Le Clerc, as early as 138 or 139 of the vulgar era. It was occasioned by the suffering of the Christians under a severe persecution, instigated, in this instance, it seems,

writings generally, from real life, but worked up his rough materials according to his own fancy and judgment; and, as he was not deficient in a very complacent opinion of his own abilities, his imaginary antagonist is made to treat him with great respect, and yield him advantages in argument, which a real Jew of ordinary shrewdness would not have given. But whether the dialogue be fictitious or not, is of no importance, since in either case we must suppose it to furnish a true record of Justin's opinions.

* Hist. Eccles. L. iv. c. 11.

† Cohortatio ad Græcos.

‡ Ib. pp. 16-33.

§ Hist. Eccles. L. iv. c. 11.

by the phrensy of the populace, who were accustomed at the public games, and whenever opportunity offered, to clamor for their blood, and urge the civil authorities to put in execution the imperial edicts then existing against them, but which the humanity of the magistrates appears sometimes to have allowed to sleep. This Apology is alluded to in the Dialogue with Trypho, which must, therefore, have been written at a subsequent period; Pearson thinks in the year 146.* The second Apology appears to have been written at a still later period, and not long before his martyrdom. It was addressed, according to Eusebius, † to Marcus Antoninus, the Philosopher, though some modern critics, as Thirlby ‡ and Pearson, || have inferred from internal evidence, that this, as well as the former, was offered to Antoninus Pius. Justin was roused to offer this Apology by the sufferings of three persons, who had been recently put to death by Urbicus, Prefect of the city, for no crime, but only for acknowledging themselves the followers of Christ. This act of Urbicus he regarded only as a prelude to still further severities, and with the exalted courage of a martyr, he stepped forward and endeavoured to avert the storm which seemed ready to burst on the heads of his fellow Christians. The consequences of his zeal and activity he seems fully to have anticipated. His ability, the weight of his character, his powerful appeals and remonstrances, and his unsparing censure of the follies of paganism, provoked the hostility of the enemies of the christian name, and they now more than ever panted for the blood of so noble a victim. Near the beginning of his Apology he expressed his belief that the fate of his companions would soon be his own. He had a determined, and, as the event proved, a powerful adversary in one Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, whom he describes as a person of infamous character, but fond of popularity and willing to resort to any arts, however base, for the purpose of obtaining it. The odium shared by the Christians, already virulent enough, appears to have been rendered still more deadly, by his exertions. He went about to inflame the minds of the people against them, shamelessly reiterating the then stale charge of immorality and Atheism against them, though, as Justin affirms, entirely ignorant of their principles. He appears, however, to have obtained the ear of the emperor; for his machinations succeeded, and Justin was sacrificed.

* Just. Ed. Thirlb. p. 439.

† Just. Thirlb. p. 110.

† L. iv. c. 16.

|| Ib. p. 439.

Of his death by martyrdom there is no doubt. The little treatise, already mentioned, called the 'Acts of the Martyrdom of Justin and Others,' would furnish an affecting account of the concluding scene of his life, could its authenticity be ascertained. But this is considered as more than questionable. The piece is one of acknowledged antiquity, but the date of its composition cannot be ascertained, nor have we any means of determining whether the Justin whose sufferings it recounts, is the saint of whom we are speaking, or another individual of the same name. In these Acts he is said to have been beheaded, and we can easily credit them when they assert that he met death with the calmness and fortitude becoming a follower of the crucified Jesus. The precise year of his death is unknown. Fabricius* and Grabe† place it at A. D. 163, or perhaps 165, says the latter; Tillemont‡ at 167 or 168; others at one of the intervening years 165, or 166.§ There is a tradition in the Greek Church that he died by poison, but this tradition has been considered as entitled to little respect.

Some writers of the Romish Communion would persuade us that he was admitted to the order of priest, or bishop in that Church. But in support of this hypothesis, they offer only vague conjectures. The ancients observe the most profound silence on the subject, nor do the Romanists of modern times venture to assign him any particular church or see. The Romish Church observes his festival on the 13th of April, and the Greek, on the first of June.

Several of the works of Justin are lost, among which we particularly regret his book 'Against all Heresies,' mentioned by himself. His first Apology, placed second in all the earlier editions of his works, has reached us nearly, if not quite, entire. The second is somewhat mutilated at the beginning, and in other respects appears imperfect. The genuineness of the Dialogue with Trypho has been questioned by a few, but, we think, for very insufficient reasons. The Hortatory Address to the

* Biblioth. Græc. T. V. p. 52.

† Spici. Patr. T. II. pp. 146-7.

‡ Eccles. Mem. II. p. 145.

§ Dodwell has expressed an opinion that he was born A. D. 119, and suffered death A. D. 149, at thirty years of age (Dissert. iii. in Irenæum. § 19.) But this opinion is not supported by any good authority. Epiphanius, indeed, says that Justin perished during the reign of Adrian, at thirty years of age. But it is beyond question, as has been generally observed, either that Epiphanius was deceived, or that his text has been corrupted, it being quite certain that Justin survived Adrian.

Greeks has been rejected by several modern critics,* and Thirlby has not admitted it into his edition of the works of the Saint. Of the several other treatises formerly published under his name and included in the later editions of his works, with the exception of Thirlby's, none are now considered as entitled to a place among his genuine and acknowledged remains. Most of them are universally rejected as spurious,† and the two or three short fragments, still sometimes referred to as his, are of too doubtful a character to authorise us to cite them as part of his genuine works.‡

* Its genuineness was attacked by Casimir Oudin, a writer of some little note in his time, and who died at Leyden, in 1717. Dr Kaye, too, the title of whose work stands at the head of the present article, adduces some arguments to show that it was not written by Justin. pp. 5-11.

† These are the Epistle to Zenas and Serenus, the Exposition of the Right Faith, Questions and Responses to the Orthodox, Christian Questions to the Greeks, and Greek Questions to the Christians, and the Confutation of certain Dogmas of Aristotle, all thrown into the appendix in the Paris edition of 1742, as manifestly supposititious.

‡ Such are the Oration to the Greeks, supposed by some (See Grabe Spici. Patr. ii. 149.) to be the 'Elenchus,' mentioned by Eusebius as a work of Justin; the short fragment on the Monarchy of God, and the Epistle to Diognetus, which Lardner, as he tells us, (Works, vol. i. p. 342. Lon. 1815.) could 'not persuade himself to quote as Justin's,' though we find the 'Spirit of the Pilgrims,' (Number for August) unblushingly citing it as one of his genuine productions. Tillemont is decidedly of opinion that it is not his, (Eccles. Mem. ii. pp. 57, 286, 384,) and even the 'good' Grabe hesitates to receive it as Justin's (Spici. Patr. ii. 165); as also Du Pin (Nouv. Biblioth. des Aut. Eccles. T. i. p. 58. P. i. 693) and the Editor of the last Paris edition. One ground of doubt is the style, which differs materially from that of the acknowledged works of Justin. Of this fact the short passage given in the 'Spirit of the Pilgrims' furnishes, we think, an illustration. It is not in the usual manner of Justin. Professor Stuart, whom the Conductors of the 'Spirit of the Pilgrims,' we suppose, will not allow to be deficient in 'patristical' lore, says (Letters on the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, p. 23.), that the two Apologies and Dialogue are the only works of Justin, of which 'the genuineness is in any good degree certain.'

The first printed edition of the works of Justin, in Greek, is that of R. Stevens, in 1551. This edition includes nearly the whole of what has been attributed to Justin, Stevens having published the spurious along with the genuine, from a manuscript which belonged to the Royal Library. The second Address to the Greeks or Gentiles, and the Epistle to Diognetus, however, were not embraced in it, but were published by Henry Stevens in 1592, and 1595.

The first translation into Latin was that of Joachim Perion, or Perionius, a French Monk of the order of St Benedict, and distinguished, as we are told, among the Theologians of his time. This was published in 1554. Another version was published the following year, 1555, at Basle, and again at Paris in 1575, by Sigism. Gelenius, or Gheleyn, of Prague, and finished by another hand, the labors of Gelenius being interrupted by death. A third translation was published at Basle in 1565, by John Langus, more properly Langius, a Silesian, who completed his task, as he tells us, before he had seen the two versions just mentioned. Of these versions, that of Langius, faulty as it is,

Justin has been the subject of much extravagant panegyric. Profound learning, penetration, wit, judgment, and eloquence, almost every quality, which goes to make a great writer, have been ascribed to him by his too partial admirers. Antiquity is loud in his praise. Tatian, his disciple, calls him a 'most wonderful' man; and Methodius, a writer of the third century, tells us that he was 'not far removed from the apostles either in time or virtue.' Photius, too, though he admits that his style wants attractions for the vulgar, extols his solidity of matter, and vast

has had the fortune to be preferred to the two preceding, and has been retained in several subsequent editions of Justin's works. Sylburgius adopted it in his edition of this Father, in Greek and Latin, published at Heidelberg in 1598. This edition was reprinted at Paris in 1615, and again in 1636. That bearing the latter date was highly esteemed, and is the edition generally intended, when the reference is made to *the Paris* edition by several writers during the century subsequent to its publication.

G. A. Grabe published an edition of the larger Apology in octavo, at Oxford, in 1700, accompanied with the version of Langius amended, and with notes by various hands. In the same place and form, was issued in 1703, the shorter Apology, with the Oration to the Greeks and the Book on the Monarchy of God, by H. Hutchinson. In 1719, Samuel Jebb published at London, also in octavo, the Dialogue with Trypho, with the translation of Langius revised, and emendations and notes by Stevens, Perionius, and several others.

Thirlby's edition of the two Apologies and Dialogue with Trypho, was published in London in 1722. This edition is beautifully printed, and contains some valuable notes, generally brief, and not incumbered with useless learning. On points involving doctrinal controversies, however, Thirlby has studiously avoided entering into any discussion. His edition, if we may credit Mosheim, (*Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians before the time of Constantine*, ii. 189. Lon. 1813) has never been held in much estimation on the continent. He has retained the Latin version of Langius, in numerous places altered and amended, though not with great diligence. In fact, as he informs us in his preface, he was a 'capital enemy' to translations. He considered the ridiculous practice, as he terms it, of sending out Greek books accompanied with a Latin translation, as exceedingly injurious to the cause of Greek literature, and was near issuing his Justin without a version. But upon the earnest remonstrance of his publisher, who assured him that a Greek book not accompanied with a Latin Version, in a parallel column, was the most unsaleable of all commodities, and would be only food for worms, he was induced to abandon his design. He therefore availed himself of the labors of Langius, correcting some of his errors, but after all executed the task of revision in a manner slovenly enough.

The last Paris edition is that of Prud. Maran, or Maranus, a Benedictine Monk of the Congregation of St Maur. This edition includes all the treatises, as well spurious as genuine, which have been at different times published under the name of Justin. The volume contains likewise the remains of several other Greek writers of the second century, as Tatian, Justin's disciple, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermias. Maran gave a new Latin version of the two Apologies, and the Dialogue. This, if we mistake not, is the most recent edition, with the exception of one published at Wurtzburg in 1777, by Obethur. The two latter, we believe, are now esteemed the best editions of the works of Justin.

and exuberant knowledge. Of the biographical notices of him, furnished by comparatively modern writers, as Cave, Tillemont, and others, most are composed less in the style of impartial history than of fond eulogium.

As a blind reverence for antiquity, however, yielded at length to a spirit of independent research and just criticism, the credit of the Fathers, and of Justin among the rest, rapidly sunk. Daillé, in his *Treatise on the Use of the Fathers*, Le Clerc, in his various writings, * Barbeyrac, † and we might add a multitude of others, and above all the learned and accurate Brucker, ‡ contributed their proportion to bring about this revolution in public opinion, and settle the question of their merit and defects. Far be it from us to justify every expression of contempt and sweeping censure, much less the tone of heartless levity and ridicule, in which modern writers have occasionally indulged in speaking of them. The subject is too grave for derision. The Fathers, with whatever imperfections and weaknesses they are chargeable as authors, are certainly entitled to our respect and sympathy as men and Christians. They performed an important office in society. They received and transmitted the religion of the humble and despised Jesus; transmitted it disfigured and corrupted, to be sure, but still transmitted it, in the face, too, of torture and death. They helped to carry forward the triumphs of the cross. Their fortitude in sufferings was matter of admiration and astonishment to the pagan world, and the infant church was nurtured by their blood.

Of such men we cannot speak with levity, or cold, illiberal sarcasm. But though we venerate them as men who dared and suffered nobly, truth compels us to say, that, as writers, we cannot think them entitled to much respect. We think with Jortin that 'it is better to defer too little than too much, to their decisions.' We do not except even Justin. His writings deserve the attention of the curious as furnishing examples of the manner in which Christianity was defended, and the objections of Pagans and Jews met and refuted in the primitive ages. They are valuable, too, in other respects. But however they may be calculated to increase our reverence for the moral qualities, the sincerity,

* See his *Ars Critica*, also, *Hist. Eccles.* and *Biblioth. Univ. et Hist. Choisie*, and *Anc. et Mod.* a rich storehouse of information in eighty volumes, into which Gibbon, as he tells us, dipped with delight, and in which the curious will be ever sure to find entertainment.

† *Traité de La Morale des Pères.*

‡ *Hist. Crit. Phil.*

the zeal, the self-devotion and courage of their author, they will not give us any very exalted opinion of his understanding, taste, or judgment. Whoever reads them with the expectation of finding in them specimens of just and well sustained argument and eloquence, whoever looks for discriminating remark or a neat and graceful style, perspicuity or method, will rise from the perusal of them with a feeling of sad disappointment.

In examining his writings for the purpose of forming an estimate of his merits as an author, the first point which presents itself for consideration, is, the degree of skill and judgment he has displayed in selecting and arranging his topics; and to conduct this inquiry successfully we must keep in mind the precise object he had in view in his several treatises. Let us take his first and larger Apology. It was not necessary that its author, in order to attain his object, should enter into a defence of the truth of Christianity. This was not his design. Christianity might be true or false, its founder might have been divinely commissioned, or he might have been an imposter and enthusiast, yet the sufferings inflicted on Christians might be undeserved, the charges alleged against them might be false, and their punishment, therefore, an act of gross injustice and cruelty. Neither the public tranquillity nor the safety of the throne, neither justice nor policy might require that the rising sect, infected by the 'new superstition' as it was called, should be crushed. These were topics, which it became the early apologists mainly to urge, and urge with all their strength of reasoning and eloquence.

The popular charges against the Christians were those of profligacy and atheism. The latter arose from their neglect of the gods, whose images filled every temple and grove, and the worship of whom was enjoined by the Roman laws. For this crime, for their alleged impiety and contempt of the gods, they were punished. Pliny, in his well known letter to Trajan, expresses his concern that the contagion of the new opinions had not only infected cities, but spread through the remoter towns and villages, that in consequence the temples were deserted, the public rites of religion neglected, and the victims remained unsold. The old fabric of superstition seemed tottering and ready to fall. But this fabric it was deemed matter of policy to support, and whatever tended to weaken and overthrow it, was, therefore, regarded with extreme jealousy and aversion. Hence the virulence manifested against the growing sect of Christians. They were the enemies of legalized superstitions, and were therefore

viewed as in some sense the disturbers of the public peace and dangerous to the state. The calamities which afflicted the empire increased the hatred against them. Of these calamities they were accused as the authors, and by their blood alone, it was urged by a superstitious populace, they could be averted and the anger of heaven appeased.—Such were the feelings and opinions, and such the mode of reasoning, which Justin found it necessary to combat; and several of the views and considerations he suggests, have great weight, though, from his want of skill in argument, he fails of making the most of them.

He demands only, he says, that Christians be placed on a footing with other subjects of the empire; that the charges brought against them should be examined, and if they were found guilty, he wishes not, he says, to screen them from punishment. But let them not be put to death without an opportunity of establishing their innocence; let them not be condemned simply for bearing the name of Christians. Names are indifferent; the things signified by them alone are of importance. If Christians are what they are represented to be, workers of all iniquity, not only holding opinions in the last degree impious and detestable, but sanctioning every enormity by their practice, let it be proved against them. Show them to be malefactors, and we will not complain that they are punished as such. But if their lives are blameless, it is manifest injustice to sacrifice them to popular phrensy and hatred.

Thus far Justin proceeds on unquestionable ground. He asserts the great principles of justice and equity, he contends for liberty of opinion, he is a strenuous assertor of that liberty, and happy for the repose of Christendom had Christians never lost sight of the sentiments in the present instance uttered by this early Father. They were worthy the noble cause he was advocating, and might with advantage have been further pressed. For this was Justin's stronghold. While he was urging these considerations he was pleading the cause of common justice and humanity, and his sentiments must have found an echo in every breast which retained the least portion of sensibility and correct feeling. But he injudiciously breaks off a truly valuable train of thought the moment he had entered upon it, to introduce some observations about demons, to whose active malice he attributes the odium under which Christians lay. As regards these evil demons, he says, we confess we may be denominated atheists, for we reject their worship; but not as

regards the true God and his Son sent by him, the host of good angels and the prophetic spirit; for these we reverence and adore. He then speaks of the objects of heathen adoration and the folly of honoring them with victims and garlands, and observes that God wants not material offerings. Christians, he continues, look not for an earthly kingdom, and as their hopes are not fixed on present things, death by the hands of the executioner has no terrors for them. They are good subjects, and promoters of virtue and peace, for they teach that all men, whatever their characters, are subject to God's inspection, and will be hereafter rewarded or punished as their actions merit. He then cautions those whom he was addressing against listening to calumnies which originated with deceptive demons; these demons were enemies of the Christians, since the latter, in embracing Christ, renounced their dominion, and became reformed in temper and life. To show the tendency of Christianity, he enumerates several of the precepts of its founder and his apostles, proves that it inculcates purity of heart, charity, patience, forbids rash oaths, enjoins obedience to magistrates, that it teaches the doctrine of immortality and of the resurrection of the body, that something like a belief of this latter doctrine may be traced among heathens, that it is unjust therefore that Christians should be subjected to reproach for holding it.

As to what is said of Christ's birth, death, and ascension, it cannot, he thinks, sound strange to a heathen ear, accustomed to the fabulous narratives of the poets; for similar things are related of the sons of Jove.

Such is the train of Justin's remarks, so far as we are capable of following him through one third, and that by far the least exceptionable part, of his *Apology*. It will be perceived from this brief abstract, that he blends just observations with trifling remarks, and correct thought with the suggestions of a superstitious imagination.

What remains of the *Apology* consists of observations and theories on the subject of the incarnation, expositions of prophecies, generally extravagant and fanciful enough, accounts of the miraculous feats, the craft and malice of demons, who appear perpetually to haunt his imagination, and whom he considers the authors of the heathen mythology and inspirers of the poets, the abettors of heresy and instigators of all the calamities under which Christians were groaning. After adding a description of the sacred rites of Christians, baptism and the supper, he con-

cludes with beseeching the clemency of the emperor, and calls his attention to a rescript of Adrian in favor of the Christians, which he subjoins.

Such are the general topics introduced into the first Apology. It contains some truth, and some just views and representations, enough surely to show that the Christians were the victims of great injustice and cruelty, but nothing which bears any resemblance to regular and well supported argument. A large portion of the considerations, or rather crude and incoherent conceptions and comments and strange conceits, obtruded upon the notice of the emperor, are such as could have no weight with him, and produce no effect but to inspire contempt for the author's understanding. He injures his cause by weak and inconclusive arguments, and by the immense mass of irrelevant and trifling or absurd matter with which he encumbers the defence.

With regard to the tone of his address we may observe that it was anything but mild and conciliating. Justin seems to have possessed a harsh and overbearing temper, which he had not the prudence to keep under restraint when motives of interest and common decorum alike required it. On this subject Thirlby, who was sufficiently indulgent in his judgment of the Fathers, expresses himself with much point and truth. 'After observing in substance, that though not a writer of the first merit, he is lively and pungent, and though not suited to the fastidious taste of an effeminate age, yet for the times in which he lived he had no ordinary degree of learning and eloquence, he adds; 'These excellences were shaded by two faults; he is beyond measure rash and careless, and wrote in a style angry, contentious, and vituperative, utterly wanting in respect for the emperors, and urbanity to others.'* He is destitute of complaisance alike to the fugitive Jews, and the Romans, the masters of the world. His language certainly cannot be referred to as illustrating the christian precepts of gentleness and forbearance and meekness and charity.

We have said that the primary object which the christian Apologists had in view, was not to establish the truth of Christianity. It was to repel calumnies and plead the cause of an innocent, but most injured and persecuted sect. But it could hardly be that those who undertook the defence of their fellow Christians, should leave out of sight the reasons which operated in producing that change from Heathenism to Christianity, which

* Dedication prefixed to his edition of Justin.

was the source of all their calamities and sufferings. They would be naturally led to speak of the follies of pagan superstitions, and the superior claims of Christianity to our regard. This they did successfully, for the superior excellence of Christianity was such as to appear upon the slightest comparison of it with heathen systems.

But we must not look to the early Apologists for systematic and masterly defences of the divine origin of Christianity. Upon this subject Justin is deficient. On the argument from prophecy he dwells at length, but not in such a manner as to satisfy a reader of the present day. Of the evidence from miracles he scarcely takes any notice. Perhaps the cause may be traced in the popular belief of the age. The efficacy of incantations and magic formed part of this belief common alike to Christians and Pagans. Miracles were regarded as of no rare occurrence, and they were supposed to be wrought by magical arts. Christianity might then have the support of miracles, but this support would be regarded as of trifling importance by those who were believers in the reality of charms and sorcery. The miracle might be admitted, but the evidence derived from it could be invalidated by ascribing it to the effects of magic. That the early Fathers and Apologists really felt a difficulty of this kind, there can be no doubt. The Jews had set the example by attributing the miracles of our Saviour to a demoniacal agency. That the heathens trod in their steps by ascribing them to magical influences, we gather from a hint Justin himself has incidentally dropped,* and Origen expressly affirms it as regards Celsus. Here then was a grand objection to the evidence from miracles, and one which the Fathers, who were themselves firm believers in the powers of magic and demoniacal influences, must have found it exceedingly difficult to remove.

Of Justin's second Apology we shall give no analysis, as it is too short to afford us any material assistance in forming an estimate of his merits. The Dialogue with Trypho furnishes still more conclusive evidence of the deficiencies already mentioned. But we shall not attempt to give its contents in detail, partly because the train and connexion of the author's thoughts is not always quite obvious, and partly from an unwillingness unnecessarily to tax the patience of our readers. We will observe simply, that the faults we have described as belonging to the first Apology, are still more prominent and striking in this.

* *Ap. I. p. 47.*

We trust that what we have already said is sufficient to show Justin's general want of skill as a writer. We have alluded to several of his peculiar faults; we shall now proceed more fully to illustrate them by reference to particular passages of his works. Of his carelessness we have a well known and striking example in the account he gives of the origin of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, in which, as it stands in his first Apology,* he makes Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, cotemporary with Herod the Great, king of Judea, thus committing a chronological error of about two hundred and fifty years. If the Hortatory Address to the Greeks be his, the story furnishes a remarkable instance of his credulity and love of the marvellous, as well as of his haste and negligence; for he there relates, that the Seventy, who were sent from Judea at the request of Ptolemy to translate the Hebrew scriptures, of which he had previously obtained a copy, were by his command shut up in as many separate cells, at some distance from the city, and prohibited all intercourse one with another, till each should have finished a translation of the whole, and that their several translations were then found upon comparison to agree to a word, which was regarded by the astonished king as evidence that they had received divine assistance. This, the writer adds, is no fable, for on visiting Alexandria he was shown the remains of the very cells, in which the task was performed.†

What he says of demons in different parts of his writings, shows how easily he could be led, on occasion, to credit the wildest and most monstrous fictions. God, he very gravely tells us, having formed man, committed him, together with all sublunary things, to the care of angels, whose too susceptible natures caused them to trespass with the frail daughters of earth, ‡

* p. 62.

† pp. 16, 17. The inspiration of the Septuagint version appears to have been the common belief of the Fathers before the time of Jerome, and this fact Le Clerc adduces as evidence of their ignorance of the Hebrew. 'Si les Pères,' he observes, 'Grecs et les Latins qui ont vécu avant S. Jérôme, avoient entendu l'Hebreu, ils n'auroient jamais cru que les LXX. interpretes avoient été inspirez: puis qu'ils auroient trouvé mille fautes dans leur version, pour avoir suivi des exemplaires fautifs, ou n'avoir pas su lire le leur, ou n'avoir pas bien entendu la langue Hebraïque, ou n'y avoir pas apporté assez d'attention, ou enfin pour avoir traduit licentieusement. Il est vrai que *Philon* et *Joseph* ont dit la même chose, de l'inspiration des Septante; mais le premier ne savoit point d'Hebreu, et le second semble avoir ménagé, en cela, les Juifs Hellenistes.' *Biblioth. Anc. et Mod.* vi. p. 329.

‡ This notion, founded on a misconception of Gen. vi. 4., of which the Seventy had given a faulty translation, did not originate with Justin. *Philo* and

and hence sprang the race of demons. These demons did not long remain idle. They mixed in all human affairs, and soon obtained universal sway in the world. They deceived men by arts of magic, frightened them with apparitions, caused them to see visions, and dream dreams; perpetrated crimes and performed numerous feats and prodigies, which the fabulous poets of antiquity, in their ignorance, transferred to the gods. They presided over the splendid mythology of the heathen, instituted sacrifices, and regaled themselves with the blood of victims, of which they began to be in want after they became subject to passions and lusts.* They were the authors of all heresies, fraud, and mischief. Their malice was chiefly directed against the Saviour, whose success, they well knew, would be attended with their overthrow, and therefore, long before his appearance on earth, they tasked their ingenuity to defeat the purpose of his mission. They invented tales about the gods of the nations corresponding to the descriptions of him given by the Hebrew prophets, hoping so to fill the minds of men with 'lying vanities,' that the writings which predicted his advent might be brought into discredit. For example, when they heard the prophecy of Moses, † Gen. xlix. 10, 11, 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and he shall be the expectation of the nations, binding his foal to the vine, and washing his garment in the blood of the grape,' they got up, as a counterpart, the story of Bacchus, the son of Jupiter, and inventor of the grape, and introduced wine into the celebration of his mysteries, and represented him as finally ascending into heaven. They were exceedingly sagacious, but with all their astuteness, found some difficulty in interpreting parts of the abovementioned prediction of Moses. The prophet had not expressly said whether he who should come was to be the son of God, or son of man, nor whether he was to make use of the foal spoken of while he remained on earth, or only during his ascent into heaven. To get over this difficulty, these crafty demons, in addition to the story of Bacchus, trumped up that of Bellerophon, who was a man, born of men, and who, as they

Josephus had advanced the same before him, and succeeding Fathers one after another copied it without examination. 'Cela fait voir,' says Le Clerc, 'qu'il ne faut pas tant vanter le consentement des Pères en matieres de Théologie.' Bib. Choi. ii. 336.

* Apol. I. p. 51. II. 92.

† The prophecy belongs not to Moses but to Jacob.

tell us, mounted on his Pegasus ascended into heaven. The prediction of Isaiah, relating to the virgin, vii. 14, they said was fulfilled in Perseus;—that in Psalm xix. 5, ‘Strong as a giant to run a race,’ which Justin seems to have applied to the Messiah, in Hercules, who was a man of strength, and traversed the whole earth. Again, when they found it predicted that he should cure diseases and raise the dead, they appealed to the case of Æsculapius.* Nor did they cease from their mischievous industry after the death of Christ. As before this event they had made use of the poets as agents in disseminating their delusions, so after it they raised up heretics, Marcion on the banks of the Euxine, and the Samaritans, Menander, and Simon, who seduced many by their magical miracles, and with the latter of whom the senate and people of Rome, he tells us, became so infatuated during the reign of Claudius Cæsar, that they numbered him with the gods, and honored him with a statue.† They ‘hover about the beds of the dying on the watch to receive the departing soul.’ The spirits of just men, and prophets equally with others, he assures us, fall under their power, of which we have an instance in the case of Samuel, whose soul was evoked by the witch of Endor. Hence, he continues, we pray in the hour of death, that we may be preserved from the power of demons.‡

All this, and much more of the same stamp, occurs, if we except the last mentioned opinion, in the two Apologies, and furnishes a fair specimen of Justin’s participation in the errors of the times.

The mention of the statue, erected, as he says, to Simon the Magician, in token of the divine honors rendered him by the Romans, has proved peculiarly unfortunate for his fame. This statue, he tells us,|| was placed on the island of the Tiber, and bore the inscription, ‘Simoni sancto Deo.’ The statement of Justin passed current with succeeding Fathers, till unhappily during the pontificate of Gregory XIII., in 1574, the statue in question was dug up, and found upon examination to have been erected, not to Simon the Magician, but to a well known Sabine deity of a similar name. The real inscription, it seems, was ‘Semoni sancio,’ or ‘sango’ &c., and the resemblance was sufficient to deceive so careless an observer as Justin.

* Apol. l. pp. 75, 76.

† Dial. p. 200.

‡ Ap. I. 77, 78.

|| Ap. I. p. 59.

Of his propensity to take up and propagate extravagant opinions without examination, his belief of the Jewish dream* of the millenium, furnishes another example. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, A. D. 110, a very weak man, and the Father of Traditions, as he has been called, is entitled to the credit, we believe, of first giving currency to this belief in the christian church. He pretended to have received it from the apostles, probably mistaking the force of some expressions employed by them, either from negligence, or from want of capacity to understand them. Justin took it from Papias, and Irenæus and many others, down to the time of Jerome, followed in his track. He seems to have supposed that antichrist was soon to appear; that after a temporary triumph, during which the saints were doomed to undergo the severest sufferings, his power would be shaken; that Jesus would descend with visible majesty in the clouds of heaven; that the Jews would acknowledge him on the spot where he had been rejected; that Jerusalem would be rebuilt, enlarged, and adorned; that the just would rise in the flesh, and, united with the faithful, who remained yet alive, enjoy with their Saviour the highest terrestrial felicity for a thousand years; that during this period the despisers and enemies of the cross would be trampled under foot of the elect; that at its expiration, the general resurrection and judgment would take place, after which they would be as angels, neither marrying nor giving in marriage. Such, Justin assures us, were the sentiments of himself and of the Orthodox generally of his age. In proof of their correctness he appeals to certain passages in the Revelation, and to Isaiah lxxv. 17-25; particularly verse 22, 'For as the days of a tree, shall be the days of my people, and the works of their labors shall be multiplied,' by which he supposes the reign of a thousand years to be darkly shadowed out. 'The day of the Lord is as a thousand years,' is another of his proof texts !†.

Again, Justin has been censured for asserting,‡ that all persons were forbidden on pain of death to read the prophets, the books

* A numerous class among the Jews appear to have connected in their minds the coming of the Messiah with the resurrection of the dead, and sensual felicity on earth during his reign. This reign they called the age, or world to come, which was to be followed by the future life which was never to end. See a 'Dissertation concerning the Notions of the Jews about the Resurrection of the Dead,' by David Humphreys, prefixed to his translation of Athenagoras, Lon. 1714.

† Dial. cum Tryph. pp. 129. 177-9.

‡ Ap. I. p. 70.

of Hydaspes and the Sibyl, it being very improbable, as it has been maintained, that any such prohibition was ever laid either on Jews or Christians. These corrupted or forged books, attributed to the Persian Hydaspes and the Cumean Sibyl, the daughter of Berosus, a Chaldean historian and astrologer, Justin seems to place, in point of authority, on a level with the writings of the Hebrew prophets, and more than once appeals to them.* The Heathens charged the Christians with the forgery, and Justin himself has not escaped suspicion of being concerned in it.† The suspicion may probably be groundless. It is worthy of remark, however, that he has incurred a similar suspicion with regard to the alleged corruption of the Septuagint version, from which he accused the Jews of having expunged several passages relating to the sufferings and death of the Messiah.‡ But this charge, as respects the Jews, it seems, is utterly without foundation. It is more probable, as critics have observed, that the passages in question were added by Christians, than suppressed by the Jews. Thirlby|| acquits the latter of the fraud, but observes, that he cannot absolve Justin from the charge of the utmost negligence and rashness.§

We have noticed several instances of Justin's rash assertions and mistakes, as his chronological blunder of more than two hundred years with regard to the Septuagint Version; the error into which he was led concerning the statue supposed to be erected to Simon Magus; the affirmation, apparently false, with respect to the reading of the Hebrew prophets and the works of Hy-

* Ap. I. p. 73. Compar. Cohort. ad Græc. p. 33.

† The book referred to by Justin and other Fathers, as the Sibyl's, appears to be a compound of history, prophecy, and doctrine, taken chiefly, says Cave, (Hist. Lit. pp. 35-6.) from the Old and New Testaments, interspersed with some passages from the ancient heathen oracles, and formed, as he conjectures, by some Alexandrine Christian, about A. D. 130, or 140, though parts seem to have been added afterwards, and the whole, he observes in another place, bears on the face of it evidence of having been made up at different times. Of the authors of the 'pious fraud,' we have no certain information. It has been attributed wholly, or in part, to Montanus, though, as the author just quoted observes, it was commenced more than forty years before his birth; to Papias, to Justin, and some others. At all events the guilt and folly of the fabrication seem to rest with the Christians. This the honest, but, in general too indulgent Cave is compelled to admit. 'Conficta esse,' says he, 'idque in gratiam Christianæ fidei, nemo non videt.'

‡ Dial. p. 169.

|| Just. Thirlb. pp. 292-3

§ Dr Kaye, the present Bishop of Lincoln, expresses a similar opinion, thinking the Christians to have been more liable to the charge than the Jews. He takes notice of the imputation against Justin without attempting his defence. Neither Thirlby nor Dr Kaye, however, ever abandon the Fathers without ample reason.

daspes and the Sibyl, which he pretends the Roman laws made punishable with death, and the unfounded charge of mutilating their sacred books, which he brought against the Jews. It would be easy to multiply specimens. Thus, he seems to place Moses, whom he calls first of the prophets, five thousand years before Christ, David fifteen hundred, and the last of the prophets eight hundred;* in the two latter cases committing an error in chronology of about four hundred years, and in the first a much greater, even supposing that the prophecy in question is to be attributed to Adam, and that all he meant to say, by calling Moses the first prophet, is, that he was the first recorder of prophecy.

His want of accuracy in citing from the Old Testament, has often, and justly, been made a subject of complaint. He frequently misquotes, ascribing to one prophet the words of another, as to Isaiah the words of Jeremiah,† or to Jeremiah the language of Daniel.‡ When a passage does not exactly suit his purpose, he does not hesitate to add to the original to render it more appropriate, an instance of which occurs in his manner of citing Psalm xxiv. 7; ‘Lift up the gates of heaven,’§ the last two words being supplied to make the passage applicable to Christ’s ascent into heaven, which, he says, it is designed to predict.

With regard to his quotations, indeed, the most indulgent critics have found it impossible to exculpate him from the charge of the utmost carelessness. His want of exactness is admitted, and the best excuse which has been offered for him, is, that he quotes from recollection, and that his errors must therefore be attributed to a treacherous memory. This supposition acquits him of intentional fraud, but unfortunately, his inaccuracies are often of such a character, that a detection of them is sufficient to overthrow the whole train of reasoning founded on the citations in which they occur.

As a critic and interpreter, it is not saying too much to affirm, that he is of no authority. He is exceedingly deficient in discrimination, and a knowledge of the laws and usages of language. He gives in to the allegorical mode of interpretation adopted by Philo and other Jews. He is perpetually beating about for hidden meanings, and far-fetched and mystical constructions, and typical representations and fanciful resemblances. Thus, he considers the tree of life planted in Paradise a symbol

* Apol. i. pp. 62, 63, 68.

† Apol. i. p. 75.

‡ Ib. 78.

§ Ib.

of Christ's cross, through which he achieved his triumphs, and he goes on to descant at great length on the symbolic properties of wood. Moses, he tells us, was sent with a rod to deliver his people; with a rod he divided the sea, and brought water out of the rock. By a piece of wood the waters of Marah were made sweet; with a rod or staff Jacob passed over the Jordan. Aaron obtained his priesthood by the budding and blossoming of his rod, and Isaiah predicted that there should come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and David compares the just to a tree planted by the waters. From a tree, God was seen by Abraham, as it is written, '*at the oak of Mamre*;' by a rod and staff David, says he, received consolation of God; the people, having crossed the Jordan, found seventy willows, and, by casting wood into it, Elisha made iron to swim; and in a similar strain he proceeds,* which furnishes no unapt occasion for the sarcastic Middleton to say, that he 'applies all the sticks and pieces of wood in the Old Testament to the Cross of Christ.' †

The virtue of the cross, the emblem of Christ's power and majesty, Justin observes, is discovered in things which fall under notice of the senses; for consider, says he, in his first Apology to the Romans, whether anything can be transacted of all that is done in the world without this figure. The sea cannot be traversed without that trophy called a sail; without this figure the land could not be ploughed; nor could any manual arts be carried on without instruments having the form of the cross. And the human figure, he remarks, differs from that of other animals, only as it is erect and has extension of hands, and a nose projecting from the face, answering the purposes of respiration; and thus it is said by the prophet, ‡ 'The breath before our face, Christ the Lord,' an illustration, or application, which will be considered, we suppose, sufficiently fanciful. Moreover, he continues, addressing the emperor, your standards which are borne before you in public, as ensigns of power and royalty, demonstrate the efficacy of this figure. In this form, too, ye consecrate the images of dead emperors, and number them with the Gods. §

God, he observes to Trypho, teaching us the mystery of the cross, says, in the blessing with which he blesses Joseph, || 'The horns of a unicorn are his, and with them shall he push the nations to the ends of the earth.' Now the horns of the unicorn,

* Dial. pp. 182-4.

§ Apol. i. p. 76.

† Free Inquiry, p. 29.

|| Deut. xxxiii. 17.

‡ Lam. iv. 20.

he continues, exhibit, as it can be demonstrated, no other figure than that of a cross, and this he attempts to show by a very minute analysis. Then as to the assertion, 'with them shall he push the nations to the extremities of the earth,' this is no more than what is now taking place among all people; for, struck by the horn, that is, penetrated by the mystery of the cross, they of all nations are turned from idols and demons to the worship of God.*

Again, when the people warred with Amalek, † and Jesus, the son of Nun, led the battle, Moses, he says, prayed with his arms extended in the form of a cross, and if they were at any time lowered, so as to destroy this figure, the tide turned against the Israelites, but as long as this figure was preserved they prevailed. They finally conquered, he gravely remarks, not because Moses prayed, but because, while the name of Jesus was in the van of the battle, the former, standing or sitting with his arms extended, exhibited the figure of a cross. His sitting or bent posture, too, he observes, was expressive, and thus the knee is bent, or the body prostrated, in all effectual prayer. Lastly, the rock on which he sat, had, says he, 'as I have shown,' a symbolic reference to Christ.‡

Such is the use to which this Father converted his knowledge of the scriptures, and such the arguments by which he hoped to convince the philosophic emperor of Rome, and win to the faith of the cross the obstinate and 'stiffnecked' Jew. In interpreting the several parts of the Old Testament, historical and prophetical, and reasoning upon them, he followed his own wayward fancy, and capricious and perverted taste. He appears to have considered any application, and almost any construction of its language, however visionary or improbable, justifiable, upon the notion he had taken up, that some hidden meaning or mystery lay couched under every sentence, and almost every word. The business of interpretation he seems to have regarded as little more than a task of invention; and he gives evidence, we confess, of having possessed an imagination sufficiently prolific, for his writings teem with the most odd and grotesque fancies.

We intended to have added some distinct specimens of his weak and inconclusive reasoning. But we are weary of our theme, and doubt not that our readers are so too. Nor, after what we have said, will they deem further illustration of his mental character and habits necessary. They will readily credit

* Dial. p. 188.

† Exod. xvii.

‡ Dial. pp. 187, 188.

us, we trust, when we affirm, that his logic is entitled to as little respect as his talent for criticism and exposition, though the latter, particularly, he pretends to have received as a special gift of God's grace. This power, he says, is not in me, but by the grace of God alone it is given me to understand his scriptures.

He has been extolled, as we have said, for his multifarious and profound acquisitions. Yet, according to his own confession, he knew nothing of the exact sciences. The mathematics he seems, indeed, to have thoroughly despised. That he could have possessed only scanty stores of philological learning, is rendered evident by the whole tenor of our foregoing remarks. He was ignorant, or knew very little of the original language of the Old Testament, as appears from the criticisms he occasionally introduces on Hebrew words, particularly, from the mistake he has committed in tracing the etymology of the word 'satan,' which according to him means 'apostate serpent,' being derived from 'sata,' an apostate or deserter, and 'nas,' a serpent, though no one who possesses the slightest tincture of Hebrew literature, is ignorant, that according to its etymological signification, it means simply, 'adversary.'

Justin, as well as many of the subsequent Fathers, has been accused of advancing and defending some erroneous principles in morals. We are not quite certain, however, that the charge as regards Justin, though apparently not without some foundation, can be satisfactorily made out, in the broad manner in which it has been sometimes stated. Three particulars have been mentioned.* It is contended, in the first place, that he approved the practice, which, it seems, obtained to a certain extent among Christians of his day, of denouncing themselves to the magistrates, and thus voluntarily courting the honors of martyrdom. It is true that he once, at least, mentions the practice, without any note of disapprobation; but he nowhere, as we recollect, expressly commends it, though, to be sure, he speaks of the eagerness with which Christians rushed into the arms of death, in the full confidence of a heavenly reward, in terms which look very like approbation. The Benedictine editor of the Paris edition of 1742, readily grants that he considered acts of voluntary martyrdom meritorious, and attempts to justify the principle by an appeal to the circumstances of the age. The passage on which he seems to rely to show that Justin approved such acts, appears not, however, exactly suited to his purpose.

* Barbeyrac, *De la Morale des Pères*. pp. 13-19.

He is thought also to have entertained an extravagant opinion of the merits of celibacy, and a passage is quoted from the fragment of a treatise on the Resurrection of the Flesh, attributed by some to Justin, in which marriage seems to be condemned as unlawful. But to this it may be replied, that the fragment in question is not known to be his. His genuine and acknowledged writings, however, contain some expressions on this subject, which will not bear to be construed too rigidly. They look a little ascetic.

Again, it has been said, that he condemned the use of oaths, in every instance. But we must say in justice to him, that he does little more than quote the words of the Saviour on this point. It is not quite clear what construction he put on them. Admit, however, that his language on these topics, especially the two former, is a little unguarded, the charge is, in reality, a very trifling one, and the examples adduced in support of it, do not prove his laxness, but only show that he inculcated great strictness and self-devotion. His writings breathe, throughout, a tone of pure and elevated morality, which forms a striking contrast with the corrupt principles and manners of the age.

It remains for us to treat of his opinions, particularly on points which have been brought into controversy. Of these the most important are his views of the divinity of the Saviour and the *Logos*. We trust that we shall prove that he corrupted the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, by an abundant infusion of Platonic opinions, that he asserted, notwithstanding, the essential inferiority of the Son to the Father, and that the modern notions of the trinity derive no support from the general tone of his language and argument. We shall conclude with some remarks on the real value of his writings as sources of historical knowledge.*

* Our remarks on the subject of Justin, we fear, may have the appearance of some severity. We beg our readers to bear in mind, however, that hitherto we have been occupied chiefly in stating his defects. Before we conclude, it is our intention to bring into view more fully those traits of intellectual and moral character, which, after all deduction for failings, really give him a title to respect. As a writer, we are not conscious of having given an exaggerated account of his defects. But the intelligent reader will hardly need to be told that these defects were not peculiar to Justin and the Fathers. They belonged to the age. To say that the Fathers shared them, therefore, is only to say that they participated in the common faults of our nature. After all, considered as a class, they will bear advantageous comparison with their pagan cotemporaries, in point of intellect and literary merit; and in a moral view they are vastly their superiors. It would be unjust to measure them by the improved standard of modern opinions.

H. Parkman

ART. II.—*A Treatise on the Police and Crimes of the Metropolis, especially Juvenile Delinquency, Female Prostitution, Mendicity, Gaming, Forgery, Street Robberies, Burglary and Housebreaking, Receiving of Stolen Goods, Counterfeiting the Coin, Exhumation, Swindling, &c. &c. Also an Account of the Courts of Justice and Prisons of London, and an Inquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Crime, with Suggestions for the Improvement of the Institutions of the Metropolis, and the Prevention of Offences.* By the EDITOR of 'The Cabinet Lawyer,' &c. &c., and of 'An Account of Public Charities.' London. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green. 1829. 8vo. pp. 390.

THIS work, as may at once be seen by the titlepage, embraces a great variety of important subjects and suggestions relating to the police of London. It has lately appeared; and, though it would seem from the preface, it was not intended for publication by the author, its appearance at the present moment is particularly opportune, as the whole subject of the police and crime of that great metropolis is obtaining an unusual share of attention, and a deep, and even fearful conviction is gaining ground, of the necessity of applying an instant and more effectual remedy for the alarming increase of crime. We regard this new work, and the whole subject of which it treats, as highly interesting. To those who take it up only as a treatise concerning the police of a single and distant city, it may possibly appear of too local and confined a character to engage the general reader. But when it is considered that this city is London, the commercial emporium of the world, the seat of arts, of learning, of charity, of all that concerns the improvement, happiness, and glory of man; when it is remembered, that this single metropolis embraces within its limits almost a million and an half of human beings, whose safety, virtue, and even life itself, are nearly or remotely concerned in its municipal restraints; and that of this vast population, there are thousands of strangers, of whom some of our own friends and fellow countrymen are at all times a part, and who, from ignorance, rashness, and the peculiar exposures incident to strangers, may possibly become the partakers or the victims of its crimes—either amenable to its justice, or in person, property, or reputation, suffering from its corruption—the subject will hardly be passed over without interest. But on still broader grounds, it deserves the attention of the Christian and philanthropist. In

this view, we may certainly find more than enough to engage us in a book, whose object is to expose moral evils, and suggest remedies, by which not the temporal welfare only, but the spiritual and eternal interests of multitudes of immortal beings may be affected.

Many of our readers, we presume, have met with a similar work on this subject by Colquhoun, which was long considered a standard, and has been extensively read. The writer, from his official situation, enjoyed the best opportunity for obtaining accurate knowledge; and though on some particular points, such as his calculations of the numbers of unfortunate and abandoned females, and of the amount of plunder within the city, he has exposed himself to the charge of lack of judgment, his work, in its day, was regarded as of high authority. The writer of that before us is evidently, and indeed, of necessity, indebted to it. But he has greatly improved both upon its plan and execution; and, with many valuable reflections on the causes of the alarming increase of crime even from that time, has adapted his views to the existing state of things.

The design of the work will be best seen by a bare enumeration of the subjects of which it treats, but a small part of which we have copied from the titlepage. These are, general principles of police, and prevention of punishments; extent and municipal divisions of the metropolis; police establishments; defects in the police; general plan of police; crimes in the metropolis; gaming; bankruptcy, insolvency, and imprisonment for debt; private credit; mendicity; female prostitution; juvenile delinquency; thieves and receivers; counterfeiting the coin, and forgery; burglary; housebreaking, and street robbery; resurrection men; causes of the increase of crime; courts of justice; prisons of the metropolis; public sewers; water companies; gas-light establishments; fire police; brewers; licensed victuallers, hotel, coffee-house, and tavern-keepers; concluding remarks on metropolitan police, crimes, frauds, and manners. And to these is added an Appendix, containing brief, but, as we should think, judicious remarks on the bill recently offered in Parliament by that eminent statesman, Mr Peel, for the improvement of the police of the metropolis and its vicinity.

As may be inferred, the writer, under these general heads, embraces almost all the topics connected with the public security and accommodation, or with the crimes, miseries, and dangers of the city. He first states the population, including London and Westminster, with the out-parishes of the suburbs, as re-

ported in the parliamentary census of 1821, to be one million two hundred and seventyfour thousand eight hundred. Allowing for an increase for the last seven years in the same ratio as in the interval from 1811 to 1821—nothing having occurred, as he observes, within this period, to check the progress of population—he makes the whole number of inhabitants, now in the metropolis, to be 1,492,228.

Of the crimes and evils, by which this vast assemblage of human beings is endangered and corrupted, mendicity, intemperance, gambling, robbery in its various forms of secret skill or violence, female prostitution, and juvenile delinquency, are the most prominent and mischievous. Upon each of these the author exhibits some astonishing, but sober details, from many of which we gladly spare our readers, referring them for what they may desire of examples to the writer himself, and willing in this article to present rather what an enlightened philanthropy may suggest for remedy, than to dwell upon the evidences of crimes, to which, in their extent, at least, and wide-spreading ravages, we of this favored community are as yet, we hope, strangers.

To every one, who, either from personal observation or report, from reading the daily journals or periodicals of that country, has acquainted himself with its records of justice, it must appear surprising, that the amount of crime and of public punishment, both in London and throughout the kingdom, should seem so greatly to exceed that of other European countries. We can hardly take up an English newspaper without disgust at the relation of awful sins and punishments, of forgeries, robberies, and murders; to say nothing of more private offences. And it is difficult to understand, that in a country preeminent for its advantages; exerting by its religion, its laws, its noble institutions, and the whole spirit of the people, so powerful a moral influence; profligacy and corruption should be so conspicuous; and that while, on the other hand, it surpasses all nations of the world in its associations for religion and charity, for the interests of learning, piety, and humanity, it should also exceed them all in the multitude and authentic records of its crimes.

One consideration, however, must be taken into view, in any attempt to explain this anomaly. It is this. Everything in Great Britain that is a subject of legal inquiry, is, by the freedom of its institutions, the subject also of public notice. Nothing occurs in its courts of justice, of which the daily journals do not take

account. Everything, therefore, is known and proclaimed. No robbery is brought to light; no forgery, of whatever condition may be the parties, is detected; nay, no violation of domestic or conjugal relations can transpire, without finding its way into the daily papers; and, such is the taste of the people, it will not fail to find also eager and echoing readers. Whereas, in France, and other continental nations, much is concealed, or, at least, never appears in print. The government suffer to be published only what their policy or their fears will allow; and there can be no question that many crimes are committed, and awfully punished too, of which none but the individuals involved in them hear or know anything.

But in addition to this, if not an obvious, yet certainly an important consideration, the writer of this book offers the following remarks. They seem to us to be well founded, though he connects them with others less satisfactory, and, indeed, as we venture to think, erroneous.

‘The proportional excess of crime in England over other European countries forms a difficult problem which has not yet obtained satisfactory solution. Distinguished by superior wealth and intelligence, it seems extraordinary we should also be pre-eminent in that which is usually presumed to result from the absence of the advantages we enjoy. Great as is this anomaly, we think it admits of explanation, and that both the magnitude and complexion of our criminal calendar may be traced to certain obvious peculiarities in the pursuits and character of the population.

‘England is preeminently a commercial community, abounding in manufactories, shipping, and well-stocked warehouses; combined with these, commodities are constantly being conveyed and transferred from one to another, which affords opportunities, and enlarges the field for depredation. Commerce requires much individual confidence, and clerks, factors, and agents cannot always resist temptation. It is productive of luxury, and leads to the assembling of people together in large towns, to the creation of credit and paper money—the intoxicating and illusive stimulants to adventure and fruitful source of offences. It leads to sudden vicissitudes in men’s fortunes, creates extreme inequality of condition, avidity of gain, and contempt for poverty; in short, makes the acquisition of wealth the ruling passion, and offences connected therewith the distinguishing trait of the community. Where there is little chattel property there cannot be much theft, either from the person, the dwelling, the warehouse, or in transfer; where there is little agency breaches

of trust must seldom occur ; and where men, as in agricultural countries, are in a fixed grade, without the chance of being either much better or worse, they are exempt from allurements to which sudden wealth or raging poverty is exposed. Hence, we apprehend, may be traced the general causes of the predominance of crimes against property in this country. We are peculiarly an enterprising, industrious, and emulative people ; the field of depredation among us is more extensive, the necessities of individuals are greater, and the uncertainties in men's fortunes beget a recklessness and excitement which make them less scrupulous in the means employed to better their condition, or repair the reverses they have sustained.' pp. 99-101.

'These appear to be the general causes of the number and description of criminal offences in England. Minor causes may be found in the state of the police, and in the imperfections of our criminal code ; but these seem to refer rather to the *increase* of crime than its character, and will be more properly adverted to in a subsequent chapter. What has been said on the country generally applies strictly to the capital. The metropolis represents, on a large scale, the prevailing pursuits of the whole community, in being the great mart of commerce, the resort of shipping and navigation, the site of extensive manufactures, and in a large proportion of its population being actively engaged in the vicissitudes and speculations of trade ; and hence its criminal character is the same, exhibiting the same excess of crimes against property and similar paucity of personal injuries.'

pp. 101, 102.

From these general views, we pass with our author to a more specific notice of the crimes which go to swell the amount of depravity in London, and in the natural or legal consequences of which multitudes annually find their ruin.

The first which he particularizes, is *Gambling* ; and in the account which he gives of the gaming houses, and of the increasing numbers of those who resort to them, he exposes a 'mystery of iniquity,' of which probably we, who are uninitiated, can form but a very inadequate conception. These houses are familiarly called 'Hells ;' and, by his description of the fraud and villany practised in them, and of the unutterable wretchedness and despair which are sometimes witnessed within them, we may perceive with what entire propriety they are thus designated. We select from his chapter on this subject, the following details.

'The chief houses, or "hells," as they are significantly term-

ed, are open only during a period when the town is filled with the idle, the opulent, and luxurious. Some of them are supported by subscription, others are partnership concerns, consisting of ruined gamblers, pettifogging attorneys, and unprincipled tradesmen. In 1821, there were no fewer than twentytwo gaming-houses, at which play was continued with little interruption, at one or other, from one o'clock at noon throughout the night. They are now reduced in number, by consolidation into larger establishments.' pp. 103-104.

'A writer in *The Times*, July 26, 1824, estimated the gain of the several banks, by points alone, at £234,000 per annum, from 1814 to 1824, making a total gain, in ten years, of £2,340,000. This was exclusive of what had been got, by cheating, upon the equal chances, and by attending races, fairs, fights, pigeon-shooting, and other gambling matches. The profits of one season at a well known pandæmonium, in St James's, are supposed to have amounted to £150,000, over and above expenses. In one night a million of money is said to have been turned over at this place, and that £10,000 was occasionally down upon single events!

'The most sure test is afforded of the wealth realized by the gaming-houses in the number of individuals known to have been reduced to poverty and crime by frequenting them, and the sums expended to compromise prosecutions instituted by their infatuated victims. We have seen a list of eight, who, in a short time, committed suicide in consequence of losses in gaming; several have been transported for embezzlement; others have been hanged, under assumed names, for forgery and other capital offences. The history of Captain D——, of the King's Yeomen of the Guard, who escaped from the Giltspur-street Compter, disguised as a porter, having been apprehended for forgeries committed to meet his loss at the tables, must be still fresh in public recollection.' pp. 106-108.

To these statements is appended a copious note, from which it appears, that both the extravagance and the plunder of these houses are incredibly great. The writer mentions one of the proprietors, who begun in indigent circumstances, and who had recently taken the benefit of the insolvent act, as having been estimated before his failure to be worth £150,000; and another, the initials of whose name, as in the case of the former, are given, £70,000. Both these were copartners with a third infamous manager of a house in Piccadilly, 'where they cleared at one season at French hazard, £200,000!' Of one Holsworth it is said, that he had a house at the west end of the town, fitted up in a

style of eastern magnificence, where he wallowed in luxury and profusion. Of the celebrated Crockford, who was sufficiently notorious to have his name adopted for the title of a novel, whose chief, if not only merit, is the correct account it gives of gambling houses, we are told from the Court Guide, that he had two residences in the most fashionable parts of the town, and another in the country; and that most of these wretches have their carriages and establishments, vying with the aristocracy in costly magnificence. Of the houses themselves, we are informed that they are fitted up in a very splendid style; that the expenses of the highest are supposed to be not less than £1000 a week; the next in eminence about £150; while those of a lower grade vary from £40 to £80. 'At the close of the season, in 1824, at Crockford's, £1000 was given to be divided among the waiters, and the head servant had half that sum presented him as a new year's gift.' As a means also of enticing visitors to play, and unquestionably of making them the easy victims of fraud, refreshments are gratuitously furnished. At the highest houses are fruit, confectionary, wines, and costly suppers; at the 'low hells,' tea, biscuits and liquors.

We will not occupy our pages with any remarks upon the enormous profligacy which such gains and such expenses must involve, or upon the countless miseries to the individual, to families, and the community, with which the vice itself is invariably attended. Should any of our readers be disposed to distrust the accuracy of these extraordinary statements, they will remember that the writer is addressing those, who, by their office, could not be unacquainted with the facts he details, and, who were competent at all times to investigate them; that, for the most part, he specifies the names of individuals and places, and, in general, has asserted nothing, which, even with curious residents of a few weeks in London, might not be a matter of notoriety.

Before suggesting some remedies, he remarks, and we wish there were less foundation for his fears, that—

'The vice is one of high antiquity, is sanctioned by imposing names, and we fear, despite of the pernicious influence it exerts on the character, it is not one that can be repressed or even greatly curtailed. Frequenters of gaming-houses are well aware of the frightful odds against them; and that the wealth of the Indies must inevitably be absorbed by perseverance in play; yet such is the effect of example, the fascinations of the scene, and

the love of excitement, that they prefer certain ruin rather than forego the flutter of hope and of fear which the rattling of the dice-box creates. To the military and naval officer, in time of peace, the chances of the tables serve in lieu of the vicissitudes and stimulus of actual warfare. To the nobility, gentry, and great monied classes, it forms a species of traffic or barter.'—

'Unfortunately, the passion does not stop here; it has extended through every grade and class in the community; is found not only at every watering-place, but at every inn, publican's, and almost every private house in the metropolis, and seems the natural offspring or accompaniment of immense wealth and luxury.' pp. 110, 111.

There is nothing which proves more fully the love of our nature for excitement, or in which we see more strangely the madness of human passion, than the history of these abodes. We have heard from those whose curiosity, and possibly other motives have tempted them thither, of the death-like silence, which, while great stakes are pending, may be almost felt, and of the anguish, which, upon sudden and remediless ruin, is occasionally exposed there. Of the suicides in Paris, where gambling is carried to yet greater extent, embracing among its votaries women as well as men of various conditions, a large proportion is ascribed to this cause. The waters of the Seine are sought to drown in their friendly oblivion an insupportable wretchedness; and the visitor to La Morgue, where dead bodies found in the river are regularly first brought, that, if missed, they may be recognized and removed by their friends, may occasionally find there some unfortunate victim of play, whom despair had hurried from the gambling table to find refuge in a voluntary death. And when it is considered under what fearful chances so much is hazarded,* and by what ruin to reputation, substance, and prospects it is followed, we know not to whom with more exactness than to gamblers we can apply the description of the preacher, 'Madness is in their heart while they live, and, after that, they go to the dead.' Happily, in our own country the mischief is not yet so deplorable. But already husbands and fathers and youth have, even among us, been

* We profess, and we certainly desire no knowledge of these mysteries, but the remarks on this subject, which the writer illustrates by examples and the laws of a particular game, may convey to the unexperienced reader some idea of the unequal chances, with which he who gambles must contend. It appears that there are not chances alone, but certain conditions of the game that are infallibly against him.

numbered with its victims. Its ravages have reached to the domestic dwelling. It has blasted many a fond affection. It has made desolate many a confiding heart. Had we a thousand tongues, and could we speak with the lips of angels, we would with all the energy we could express, beseech the young and the unwary, the tempted and the unfortunate, to forbear. They may enter with what hopes they please these detestable abodes; they may think, in a moment of distress, to retrieve a desperate fortune; but they know not that the dead are there, and that their guests are in the depths of hell.

In the seventh chapter, the writer classes together those evils, which are often found in connexion, and which in all large cities, and in London especially, are the fruitful sources, or rather the reciprocal causes and effects of profligacy and wretchedness. Among these we find mendicity, female prostitution, juvenile delinquency, theft, and receiving of stolen goods.

On the fruitful subject of mendicity, or the condition and life of beggars, and of pauperism, on which so much has been written and speculated, our author exhibits some very interesting statements. He shows, that, notwithstanding the public provision made for the poor in England, and the enormous rates which are levied for their support; notwithstanding the law 'that every Englishman has his parish, and every parish is bound to find work,' or otherwise provide for those, who are unable to provide for themselves; yet, from various causes, mendicity in London is carried to a vast extent, and they who are annually paying large sums in poor rates, and are almost impoverished themselves by the legal claims of indigence, are in the streets of the metropolis perpetually 'assailed by its clamors, and have their feelings lacerated by the spectacle of suffering, real or fictitious, which ought to be excluded from their sight.'

Of the sources of this evil, several are described. From the influx of strangers from every part of the kingdom, and especially, as in our own cities, from Ireland, bringing with them whole families, in hopes of finding employment, but exposed to sickness and failure in the obtaining of labor, and to all manner of disappointments; from ignorance as to their places of settlement, by which many beggars in London, actually belonging to the city parishes, are yet *so little acquainted with themselves*, that they are *unable, though willing, to establish their claim to parish aid*; but far beyond this and all other causes, from idleness

and profligacy, he tells us, and every stranger of a day is a witness, that London is crowded by a host of mendicants who torment the passenger, infest shops and houses, and present, wherever they are seen, a most revolting and disgusting spectacle. Of these by far the largest proportion, the writer says even ninety-nine in a hundred, are vile impostors, who pursue begging as their chosen trade, which they carry on with all the skill and system of a regular profession; and, as it appears by various statements from other sources familiar to our readers, with extraordinary success.

Of the probable number of these mendicants, of the good reasons they have to be content with the gains of their calling, and their reluctance to exchange it for any virtuous labor or employment, the reader will best judge by the following extracts.

‘Attempts have been made to estimate the number of beggars in London. Mr Martin, thirty years since, calculated them at 15,000, of whom 3500 were Irish. They must now be double or treble that number. The number of persons who presented themselves, last year, to the “Society for the Suppression of Mendicity in the Metropolis,” amounted, including their families, to nearly *forty thousand*. Out of this immense number of objects, only 806 could be selected whose cases were *plausible* enough even to merit investigation, and, among these 806 it was ascertained 397 were gross impostors and confirmed vagrants, and of the remainder seventeen refused parochial relief on condition of admission into the workhouse, and 155 either refused to return to their homes or absconded from work provided by the Society. In short, of the whole 806 only 237 merited and received relief, and of these fifty-four were placed upon their parishes in London, and thirty-five upon their parishes in the country.

‘The alleged causes of distress are mostly want of employment, want of tools and implements of work, sickness and accidents, loss of friends by death, desertion, or imprisonment, failure in business, suspension of pension, pay, or prize-money, and shipwreck. Some allege they are foreigners, wanting means to return home. How few of them are inclined to honest industry is evinced by the results of the Society’s wharf, at which able-bodied applicants are employed in breaking stones, for which they receive adequate remuneration. Of the number of persons qualified for work and sent to the wharf, not more than *one in thirty* have been found willing to avail themselves of it, the rest having absconded!’—pp. 144, 145.

Again, on p. 141, we find some details, which, were it not for the indescribable profligacy they exhibit, would seem only ludicrous.

‘From the inquiries of a Parliamentary Committee in 1815, it was ascertained, beyond all doubt, that gross and monstrous frauds are practised by mendicants in the metropolis and neighbourhood; the success of which affords a direct encouragement to vice, idleness, and profligacy, as much more is gained by importunate solicitations in the streets for charity, than is earned by the sober and most industrious artizans, by their utmost application to the work in which they are employed. As the number of beggars has certainly not since decreased, and their craft is carried on upon nearly the same principles, we shall insert a digest of the results of the Committee’s inquiries, from the “Report on the State of Mendicity in the Metropolis, 1816.” (Parl. Pap. No. 396.)

“Beggars on being searched when brought before the magistrates, a great deal of money has been found about them, in their pockets and in their clothes.

“Beggars make great profits by various practices, such as changing their clothes two or three times a day, and getting money intended for others. Clear proof that a blind man, with a dog, got 30s. in one day. Another man got 5s. a day; he could, with ease, go through sixty streets in a day. Another got 6s. a day.

“Two houses in the parish of St Giles, frequented by from 200 to 300 beggars; receipts from 3s. to 5s. a-day: they could not be supposed to spend less than 2s. 6d. at night, and pay 6d. for their bed.

“A negro beggar retired to the West Indies with a fortune, it was supposed, of £1,500.

“Beggars gain 3s. or 4s. a-day by begging shoes.

“A woman alleged that she could go through sixty streets in a day, and that it was a bad street that did not yield a penny.

“A beggar would spend 50s. a-week for his board.

“Children are made use of to excite compassion.

“Beggars are furnished with children at houses in White-chapel and Shoreditch; some, who look like twins, frequently carried on their backs. Children frequently sent out to beg and not to return with less than 6d.

“A girl of twelve years of age had been six years engaged in begging; on some days got 3s. or 4s.; sometimes more, usually 18d. or 1s.: on Christmas day, 4s. 6d.

“One man will collect three, four, or five children from different parts, paying 6d. or 9d. each to go begging with them.

“A woman with twins, who never grew older, sat for ten years. Not once in a hundred twins are the children of beggars.

“A little boy and girl earned 8s. a day.

“A night school kept by an old woman for instructing children in the street language.

“1 Edward IV. c. 3, notices the practice of employing children by vagrants in begging.

“Beggars are most numerous in the outskirts of the town; thirty or forty sleep in a large round bed.

“In the neighbourhood of St Giles's thirty or forty houses, apparently crowded, in which are not less than 2000 people, one half of whom live by prostitution and beggary: the remainder Irish laboring people. The rector of St Clement Danes describes them as living very well: especially if they are pretty well maimed, blind, or if they have children.

“From 200 to 300 beggars frequent two public houses in St Giles's, divided into companies and subdivided into walks; they have hot suppers and live luxuriously at night. They eat no broken victuals, but have ham and beef. The walks are sold.

“Forty or fifty sleep in a house, and are locked in lest they should carry anything away, and are let out in the morning all at once.

“At some of the houses the knives and forks are chained to the tables, and other articles chained to the walls.

“Worthy persons, however distressed, will not have recourse begging. Street-beggars, with very few exceptions, are utterly worthless and incorrigible. Beggars evade the Vagrant-Act by carrying matches and articles of little intrinsic value for sale. Out of 400 beggars, in St Giles's, 350 are capable of earning their own living.”

On the second subject of this chapter, we cannot here enlarge. The statements, however, which this writer exhibits, of the extent and misery of female prostitution, of the numbers and condition of its unfortunate victims, are appalling to every benevolent mind. It would be altogether unnecessary to consider them, unless with some hope to supply an alleviation or a remedy. Christian philanthropy has, as yet, accomplished little in this cause. The asylums, which under its influence have been established, as the Magdalen, most unjustly so called, and the Female Penitentiary, though in multiplied instances they have been the happy instruments of reformation, yet, from the inadequacy of their means, possibly also from inherent objections to the whole system on which they are established, have accomplished little,

Every individual instance of reformation is indeed earnestly to be sought and welcomed, for it is no less than the 'saving of a soul from death.' But probably the only general and effectual remedy for this great moral contagion is to be found in the dominion of religious principle, in more general and better established convictions of the guilt, shame, and wretchedness of the habits it involves. And when it is considered to what inevitable miseries it leads; how sure and rapid is the descent from virtue, peace, reputation, and everlasting hopes, to loathsome degradation, irreclaimable hardness, or the wretchedness of despair; when it is remembered, that the unhappy victim may at first have been betrayed by specious promises and practised villany from a happy home and virtuous friendships and fair prospects, herself the cherished object of them—and that by sad degrees, not slow, alas! or imperceptible, she has exchanged all these for the very sinks of pollution, for a spiritual death, whence there is no 'return to the paths of life,' it would seem,—to adopt the words of an eloquent writer in reference to another, though very different source of human misery,* 'that there is no sorrow, which imagination can picture, no sighs of anguish, which nature, agonized and oppressed, can exhibit, no accents of wo,' which might not be suited to express the just sense of such a condition. Compassion, not indignation, is the prevailing sentiment it should awaken. For could the hearts of some of these poor victims of their delusion be exposed, perhaps it might be seen to what a sense of desertion and wretchedness they were delivered; and, like the roll, which was spread before the prophet to mark the desolations of a guilty people, they might appear to be inscribed, 'within and without, with sorrow, lamentation, and wo.'

Under the head of Juvenile Delinquencies, we see the lamentable extent of dishonesty, fraud, and other wickedness among boys and even young children. Of this, our own city, small as it is in comparison, has already afforded too many examples. And we can at once perceive, how easily, in a population like that of London,—in which, notwithstanding its ten thousands of children educated in the charity schools, and annually exhibited for a great show in St Paul's, and its extensive Lancasterian or other schools, there are no provisions for the education of all classes and ages as with us—how easily great multitudes

* Robert Hall's Sermon on the Death of the Princess Charlotte.

may be overlooked, and, in the want of religious education, and through exposure to poverty and its attendant dangers, early become profligate and abandoned. Colquhoun, who, in his capacity of magistrate, was often called to punish these delinquencies, has exposed in his excellent work the prodigious dangers and evils, both to the children themselves and to the community, from this premature depravity. He has shown that not only the children of profligate or distressed parents within their own dwellings, are left to themselves; but that, such are the defects of the public institutions, and even of the means specially provided by the city, the greatest dangers are to be feared from young children educated in the work-houses, surrounded, as they continually are, by the worst examples, and permitted to enter upon life with wicked propensities that are soon ripened into habits, the mischievous fruits of which are exposed to the daily view and annoyance of every one conversant with vulgar life in the metropolis.

Upon this subject, which in every view in which it can be regarded, is so important, the writer of the work before us gives the following statements, suggesting for the incalculable evils he describes, some legal remedies;—

‘There are, probably, 70,000 persons in the metropolis who regularly live by theft and fraud; most of these have women, with whom they cohabit, and their offspring, as a matter of course, follow the example of their parents, and recruit the general mass of mendicancy, prostitution, and delinquency. This is the chief source of juvenile delinquents, who are also augmented by children abandoned by the profligate among the working classes, by those of poor debtors confined, of paupers without settlement, and by a few wayward spirits from reputable families, who leave their homes without cause, either from the neglect or misfortune of their natural protectors. Children of this description are found in every part of the metropolis, especially in the vicinity of the theatres, the market-places, the parks, fields, and outskirts of the town. Many of them belong to organized gangs of depredators, and are in the regular employ and training of older thieves; others obtain a precarious subsistence by begging, running errands, selling play-bills, picking pockets, and pilfering from shops and stalls. Some of them never knew what it is to be in a bed, taking refuge in sheds, under stalls, piazzas, and about brick-kilns; they have no homes; others have homes, either with their parents, or in obscure lodging-houses, but to which they cannot return unless the day’s industry or crime has produced a stipulated sum.

‘It is from the thousands of children so situated that the chief mass of criminals is derived, who fill our prisons, the hulks, and convict-settlements. It is a most extraordinary fact, that half the number of persons convicted of crime have not attained the age of discretion. During the last seven years, out of 16,427 commitments in the county of Surry, 7292 were under twenty years of age, and 370 under twelve years of age, and several of these not more than eight or ten years of age.’

pp. 159, 160.

We consider it a subject of no small congratulation, that in our own city, this source of danger to the character and hopes of the young, to the property and security of all classes, has engaged serious attention, and that, in the institution at South Boston for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, we are already enabled to see much, and are authorised to anticipate still more, of the benefits of a judicious and salutary system both of correction and prevention.

We must omit for the present the consideration we had proposed of other important topics, presented in this interesting work, which might easily extend this article beyond its reasonable limits; and will just lay before our readers a condensed view of statements exhibited by our author on a subject less familiar, and exposing offences, which, as violating some of the strongest and most sacred feelings of our nature, yet for a purpose undeniably important to science, and even, we may add, to the interests of humanity itself, must require, beyond most others, a wise and considerate legislation.

It seems, as indeed the public journals in London and the records of justice frequently show, that there is, both in the metropolis and in other considerable places of the kingdom, a set of wretches, ‘whose ostensible calling is the violation of the sanctuary of the grave, to obtain subjects for the advancement of anatomical science.’ The number of persons in the city, who regularly live by obtaining bodies, is supposed by this author, not to exceed ten; but the number occasionally employed is probably beyond two hundred. This anomalous class of beings are represented as skilful also in common thieving, and as forming together the most desperate and abandoned of all offenders.

‘Scarcely a year elapses,’ says the writer, ‘without some of them being convicted either of stealing, or of house-breaking.

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Many of them keep a horse and cart, which they employ in carrying stolen goods, and, if out late at night, and questioned by the police, they pretend they are getting subjects for the surgeons. Their ferocity exceeds everything that can be imagined of human beings. In speaking of them, Sir Astley Cooper, in his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee of last Session, says :—"They are the lowest dregs of degradation : I do not know that I can describe them better ; there is no crime they would not commit ; and, as to myself, if they should imagine that I would make a good subject, they really would not have the smallest scruple, if they could do the thing undiscovered, to make a subject of me." Mr Brodie affirms, "They are as bad as the worst in society. When I consider their character, I think it a dangerous thing to the community that they should be able to get ten guineas for a body." Mr Brooke says, "They are the most iniquitous set of villains that ever lived." These testimonials to their infamy are from gentlemen eminent in the medical world, and who have been partly indebted for their eminence to an intercourse with the miscreants they describe.'—p. 197.

After an exact reference to the laws on this subject, which, the writer shows, at once forbid the practices both of the resurrectionists and anatomists, and require a proficiency in the medical practitioner, that cannot without them be obtained, he proposes a remedy that may meet the difficulty, by providing for the demands of science, making unnecessary, and annihilating, as it were, an infernal calling, and maintaining the sanctity of the grave. From an authentic report, presented to Parliament on the subject, it appears, that there are about ten thousand physicians or practitioners in England and Wales ; and within the metropolis about eight hundred students of anatomy. 'Each of these students,' it was stated, 'requires three subjects ; two to learn the structures of the parts, and one to operate on.' It is incontrovertible, that no one can be qualified to practise without actual dissection ; and that, were it *only to comply with the requisitions of the law itself* as to the qualifications of physicians or surgeons, subjects must be furnished. It is further said, that on account of the difficulty and danger of obtaining subjects, many students of medicine in London are compelled to resort to foreign schools ; to France, and Germany, where there is a legal and an abundant supply. To remedy this evil, which, it must not be denied, is to be remedied by some means or other, the

writer proposes, that it should be made lawful 'to take for dissection, first, those who by will bequeath their bodies for that purpose; those, who die in prisons, while under sentence for a criminal offence; those, who die in hospitals and work-houses, having no friends willing to undertake the expenses of their burial, and who have not expressed any wish to the contrary.' Having shown, that, from the number of those alone, who die annually in the work-houses—more than three thousand of whom in a given year were buried at the public expense, and of these more than eleven hundred were not attended to the grave by any relations—an adequate supply might be obtained, and that by a provision so simple, the 'cultivation of a useful science might be facilitated, and the churchyard preserved from violation,'—the writer concludes with some remarks on the principles which should regulate any future laws on this subject, which are so excellent in themselves, so well founded in the best feelings of our nature, and, at the same time, so entirely applicable to the wants and difficulties felt by the profession on the one hand, and by the community on the other, and experienced in our own medical schools, that we cannot but recommend them to the attention of every one who feels the least interest on the subject.

'One of the first considerations which ought to determine the character of a new anatomical law, is, that it should contain no provision that can lessen in the public mind the sacred respect now felt towards the remains of the dead. We do not concur in the philosophy that would imply there is no ignominy, no punishment in the dissection of a body after death. It may be a *prejudice*; but if our moralities are to be submitted to this test, we do not know where we may be carried. If the dissection of a human body may be treated with indifference, so may the consumption of them for food. Incest, or a still more abominable offence; and patriotism, the love of fame, of offspring, and a regard to personal decency, may be all prejudices in the estimation of some, but they are prejudices which experience has proved more conducive to social happiness than their opposite truths. The dead we know cannot suffer; but in the inviolability of their remains is consecrated the safety of the living.

'What would be the consequences of considering the body of a man after death no better than that of a dog, or a regular subject of traffic? What a farce it would make of all the solemnities of a funeral and of the most imposing service in the Liturgy!

What an opening for crime to the profligate mind! The murderer is often appalled at his deed by the sight of his victim. Death, it is known, may be effected by suffocation, by poison, and other means which leave no trace even to medical eyes. In numberless instances the removal of the living—of rivals, the aged, the incurably diseased, and the wealthy, would make the fortune of survivors, or at least be of the utmost convenience. What often checks these private executions, is, doubtless, the disposal of the body; or perhaps the dread of looking upon the lifeless corpse. By the institution of searchers and coroners' inquisitions, society has endeavoured to guard against these clandestine atrocities, but all precautions would be still more inadequate than they now are, without the aid of what some may deem superstition; and we are convinced, were the horrible indecency of the sale of subjects tolerated, and the common mind thereby inducted to a familiar treatment of the body after death, one of the greatest safeguards of human life would be removed. It ought never to be forgotten that the Edinburgh murders commenced with the sale of a body arising from a natural death; the horrible wretches were at first appalled with the spectacle of their dreadful trade; but practice soon familiarized their minds, till at length they thought no more of the immolation of a fellow-creature than the strangling of a cat. The ferocious character of resurrectionists, and even the habits of some anatomists, show the hardening tendency of the principle we deprecate, and on which we could enlarge, had we not, perhaps, urged enough to establish the importance of the consideration for which we contend. One of the most favourable traits in the national character, in the paucity of personal crimes, may be ascribed to the uniform respect, which, before and after death, the person is treated in this country, and we trust no legislation will tend to impair this salutary feeling.

'While, therefore, every facility ought to be afforded to science, it is important not to compromise the more important interests. Dissections ought, in our opinion, to be deemed an ignominy, and no one, without specific cause, denied those sepulchral rites and mode of decay which custom has sanctioned. To the philosopher it may be matter of indifference whether he be dissected by worms or the surgeon's knife, but laws are not intended exclusively for the learned. In the common mind dissection is considered an indignity—a depreciation of the earthly tabernacle; and were it openly tolerated, would lessen the respect for the dead and thereby remove one of the safeguards of the living.'—pp. 200-202.

Having, in accordance with these views, which, we doubt not, will approve themselves to every reflective mind, made certain exceptions, and proposed that the sale of bodies be absolutely prohibited as too sacred to be made a subject of traffic, he concludes ;—

‘ We would offer up, as a sacrifice to science, all who die in prison, while under sentence for crime ; all found dead and unknown ; all who die in any hospital, charitable institution, or poor-house, and not claimed and removed by friends or next of kin, in a state fit for interment, within fortyeight hours after death, and who have not by will or testament expressed any wish to be interred. To the devotion of these to public use no objection could be reasonably made ; they are all either the victims of justice, or their lives have been so doomed or mispent that they have not a friend to close their eyes. In addition to them, any one should be freely allowed to bequeath, *as a gift*, his body to dissection ; and the executors and next of kin should be allowed to offer, as a gift, a body for dissection, the deceased having expressed no wish to the contrary ; but, in the two last cases, as well as in the case of women offered for dissection, under the circumstances mentioned in the preceding paragraph, no body should be removed to any school of anatomy, without a certificate first obtained from the coroner of the district, testifying that he had seen the body, and that there was nothing either in the last will of the deceased, or in the mode of dying, which prohibited its intended appropriation.’ * pp. 202, 203.

On the whole, we have read this work with great interest. It is evidently the result of careful investigation, of accurate knowledge, and of an enlightened benevolence. We have little confidence in those sanguine schemes of reform, which propose the annihilation of poverty and crime. And it is one of the best

* We know not that similar provisions among ourselves would meet the demands of science or the absolute wants of the profession. For happily in our city, and probably throughout New England, there could not be found within our poor-houses, work-houses, or even gaols, a sufficient number of those, who were utterly without friends, with no one to care for their remains. Yet it seems necessary that an effectual remedy should be found, by which an honorable and most important profession should be supplied with the indispensable means of acquiring a skill, to which any individual of the community may in some way or other be indebted for his safety and even life. It seems, moreover, but common justice that the medical profession should be protected from the suspicion and odium, which, amidst popular excitement, have sometimes fallen upon the most respectable members of it ; while, at the same time, the public feeling should be guarded from all such wanton violations, as would be the proper subjects of legal inflictions.

recommendations of this book, that it is characterized throughout by a sober judgment, and a freedom from that extravagance of statement and theory, so common and annoying in the writings of some professed philanthropists, who are perpetually leaving their readers to the regret, that their enthusiasm is so much in advance of their wisdom.

We may avail ourselves of the opportunity of a future number to enter somewhat more at large into the general views, which are suggested by works of this class. Our readers will perceive, that we have left untouched many important subjects which are fully discussed by this author. In the mean time, casting our eye over the scenes he exhibits, the pictures of physical and moral wretchedness which are here exposed, is it not a problem of difficult solution, that in a city, like London, honored as the very abode of christian charity, in which some of the wisest and best of men are daily employed in deeds of mercy; where, as appears from authentic documents,* more than one million sterling, or nearly four millions and a half of dollars, are yearly expended from the funds of public institutions, besides countless sums employed by private beneficence; where societies are multiplied upon societies for the relief of all imaginable distress, so that the brief description of their various operations, under the significant title of '*Pietas Londinensis*,' shall fill a bulky octavo—is it not wonderful, we ask, that there should yet remain such a mass of poverty and corruption; that multitudes should still be found without the means of subsistence, rising in the morning, if perchance they have a bed at night, without knowing where or how they shall supply the wants of the day,† and exposed to the worst temptations of hunger and reckless despair? The view would at first seem discouraging to the efforts of charity—to find so much done, such treasures bestowed, such wisdom exercised, and yet so much wretchedness unrelieved. Nor could we wonder, if at the spectacle the benevolent themselves should be disheartened and the mere citizen of the world pass by, like the Levite, and leave this hopeless misery to itself. But it is the property of christian charity, that '*it never faileth*.' It is the declaration of the wisest and kindest friend that the poor ever had, or ever can have on earth, '*My Father worketh hitherto and I work*.' With these divine examples his disciples will labor also; and in all

* Highmore's *Public Charities of London*. † See Colquhoun's *Treatise*.

their efforts for the relief of ignorance, want, and sin, they will not cease to rely on the omnipotent and unwearied compassion of God, and on the grace of the Lord Jesus, who came to the world for the very purpose, that he might 'seek and save them that are lost.'

Daniel Handwell.

ART. III.—*Elements of Technology, taken chiefly from a Course of Lectures delivered at Cambridge, on the Application of the Sciences to the Useful Arts. Now published for the Use of Seminaries and Students.* By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica, and late Rumford Professor in Harvard University, &c. &c. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins. 1829. 8vo. pp. 507.

THE materials of which the above work is formed, were collected by Dr Bigelow during the ten years that he occupied the chair of Rumford Professor at Cambridge. The word 'technology' is not so familiar in our language as could be desired in order to convey, at once, a full idea of the subjects here arranged under it. Some word of the kind, however, has become necessary, both for precision, and to avoid the use of an unwieldy phrase. This, as Dr Bigelow observes, is sufficiently expressive, and has lately been revived; and, although not perfectly grateful to the ear, will probably come into general use.

The work before us treats of the materials used in the arts; the form and strength of materials used in the arts, the arts of writing and printing, designing and painting, engraving and lithography; sculpture, modelling, and casting, architecture and building, heating and ventilation; illumination, and locomotion; of the elements of machinery, the moving forces used in the arts, the arts of conveying water, dividing and uniting solid bodies, combining flexible fibres, horology, metallurgy, communicating and modifying color, vitrification, induration by heat, and the preservation of organic substances. Diversified as these subjects are, they do not, perhaps, admit of any philosophical classification. Many of them have resemblances in their machinery and

processes, or are dependent on the developement of some single law of nature. There is nothing, however, like an elementary art, which contains the principles of a great number of other arts, by which a reader could be led, as in many sciences, to a perfect knowledge of the subject as he advances, his progress constantly furnishing the means for future attainment. It is on this account, perhaps, that the study of the arts does not furnish a very useful discipline for the mind, not imparting to it habits of methodical connexion, such as it acquires in the study of the exact sciences. Every art stands in some degree insulated; and although the improvements of one are oftentimes made to enrich another, yet some of them have existed in great perfection when others were utterly unknown. On this account, a compilation, like that before us, has necessarily the character of a collection of dismembered essays, which might be transposed in their order of succession without the least inconvenience.

It must be obvious that there are two very distinct classes of readers of works on the arts. The first of these is comprised of educated persons, and of students generally, to whom a knowledge of the general principles which govern the production of objects on which their refined enjoyments as well as their comforts depend, may be both useful and satisfactory. The second class consists of persons whose business in life is made up of the practice of some art. The compilation of a book equally adapted to the wants of these distinct classes, is entirely out of the question. The popular and general descriptions, which alone are required by the first, would be quite useless to the second; while the mathematical formula, or precise and technical descriptions necessary for the instruction of the engineer and professional mechanic, must prove repulsive and wearisome to the general scholar. It was for the class of students and educated persons, not in the practice of the arts, alone, that Dr Bigelow's work was designed. With regard to its usefulness to them, we risk nothing in saying that it was required by the existing state of learning in this country. Indeed, it seems somewhat surprising that the place which it is intended to occupy, has not already been more perfectly filled. There are, indeed, compilations in which most of the subjects of this work are arranged for general instruction. Such are the published lectures of Young and Millington, and the *Operative Mechanic* of Nicholson. Of these, however, the two first contain the elements of

natural philosophy, which many persons by whom the present publication will be studied, do not require; and the last we have always considered very faulty in its execution; not at all calculated to satisfy the wants of any class of readers;—useless in the workshop, because in substance already familiarly known to the professional mechanic and artist; neglected by the amateur, because the relations of the processes to the laws which govern them, the explanation of which constitutes the charm of such works to this class of readers, are often omitted or but imperfectly traced amidst a confusion of tedious details.

It will be understood, from what we have already said, that Dr Bigelow's work is of a popular character. It contains no abstruse computations or reasonings, and all technical words, which it was necessary to use, are fully explained. There is a simplicity and directness in the descriptions, which show the clearness of the author's perceptions, and an absence of all desire of display. That there are no errors nor oversights, which might be pointed out by a severe criticism, we shall not pretend to warrant. No one could commit himself on subjects so various and complicated, without betraying in some points the imperfection of his knowledge. In our opinion, however, the greatest fault in this work is the conciseness with which many of the descriptions are passed over. This indeed could not have been avoided, without abandoning the plan of bringing so many arts within the compass of an ordinary volume. In consequence of this, however, many processes and parts of machines are rather indicated than described, so that the reader will sometimes come short of a sufficient knowledge of the subject before him, without either consulting other works, or trusting to his own resources; the latter of which is often insufficient or unsafe. But we are the more willing to pass over this objection to our author's plan, because it is in a good degree covered by a skilful execution, in avoiding prolixity everywhere, and observing a justness of proportion throughout; excellences which few authors have sufficiently before their eyes. If our recommendation can have any weight with the instructors of high schools and colleges, the *Elements of Technology* will soon become a text book in common use. We should rejoice in this, as it would meet the public desire that education should be governed more with a view to furnishing young men with a competent knowledge of the busy concerns of life, in which most of them are destined, in some way, to engage.

In saying that this work is of a popular character, we would not have it understood that we consider it useless to the engineer and artist. Although designed for a different class of readers, we believe that most practical men will find in it something useful in their own arts, and that it will prove to all, a convenient book of reference, to be consulted with advantage in order to recall to their minds facts and laws of relation not always readily recollected.

With the very favorable opinions thus generally expressed, we leave the body of this work, an analysis of which will not be expected of us, to call the attention of the reader to a speculative question of great interest and importance, involved in the introduction. This is, in substance, the absolute nature and amount of the advantages which the arts have derived from the sciences. In the introduction to his work, Dr Bigelow, after marking, by several careful definitions and examples, the kinds of knowledge to which the terms art and science are severally applied, notices the prodigious advantages which have resulted from the application of science to the arts. The subject, we confess, is somewhat trite; its importance, however, and intimate relation to the succeeding pages, rendered it a very proper introduction to them; and it seems to us the more necessary that it should not yet be dismissed from public attention, because, although so often discussed, we entertain the opinion that it is not accurately understood. While we have no doubt that the arts are surely and steadily advanced by scientific discoveries, we are confident that there is a misconception of the mode in which this advancement is effected; that processes and operations originating in observation, or those efforts and combinations of genius which are independent of all accurate learning, are often mistaken for the results of a plain and systematic deduction from some principle of science previously discovered. Hence expectations are formed of the power of philosophy in the arts, little short of the chimera of Rousseau, in making Emilius the inventor of every instrument required in his philosophical pursuits. Science is a knowledge of things in their properties, their mutual relations, and dependences. That some knowledge of these properties and relations, must precede any judicious combination of them to produce artificial results, must be apparent to everybody. It must be evident, moreover, that the more perfect this knowledge, the greater will be the power of artificial combination. Strictly speaking, this knowledge, in its most imperfect degree, is science;

and under this view, all improvements, not the result of sheer chance, may be said to be instances of the application of science to the arts; the contrivance of the machine, or apparatus, through which the physical properties are made to operate, constituting an act of invention. If we are not grossly mistaken, however, there is an opinion entertained, though perhaps rather loosely, by well educated people, that science comprises a kind of knowledge of physical qualities, from which improvements in the arts may be directly deduced, without anything like a creative effort; and that, without this profound and intimate knowledge of nature, the arts are rarely, if ever, improved; or, that processes and machines are seldom contrived without a thorough knowledge of all the laws involved in them. There is something apparently so very rational in this supposition, that we should not hope to oppose it by mere reasoning. The history of inventions, however, fully contradicts it; and to show this, we may select one, out of numerous instances which are at hand, of inventions of great importance in the arts, made without anything like a knowledge of the powers on which their operations depend.

The pump is known to have been invented long before the christian era; yet it was not until the seventeenth century that Torricelli found that the water was made to rise in it by atmospheric pressure. We are not acquainted with the course of reasoning or experiment by which this invention was made; and we are aware that attempts to supply the defects of history, in things of this sort, are often more subtle than just. It is not unlikely, however, that the *fact* was observed, that water would follow a tight piston as it was drawn upwards in a tube. Possessed of this fact, the invention of the valves and brake were not perhaps less readily accomplished than they would have been, had a knowledge of the weight of the atmosphere been known. The invention proceeding from a knowledge of the above fact, would be truly an application of science to the arts, and in a way in which we apprehend most of the improvements of the present day are at first struck out. It falls far short, however, of that kind of application in which it is generally supposed improvements originate. To have satisfied the common opinion, the discovery of Torricelli should first have been made, and the pump should have been derived from it as a corollary follows from a demonstrated problem.

In the above cited instance, and innumerable similar ones,

the machine existed so long before science afforded a true explanation of its operation, that no pretence can be made that it originated in any perfect knowledge of the properties or laws involved in that operation, or what would be called the scientific principles on which it depends. There are however some improvements, made at about the same time that the scientific principles on which they are explained were discovered, which are taken as merely particular and obvious applications of these principles to the arts. The most important of these, indeed almost the only ones that have been claimed as originating in this way, are the safety lamp, the steam engine, and the method of bleaching. An examination of the history of these improvements, however, seems to show that they were not directly pointed out by discoveries in science, but that they were rather the result of a careful observation of phenomena, and a power of forming the apparatus necessary to control these phenomena, or render them subservient to some purpose of the arts.

The course pursued in the invention of the safety lamp has been very satisfactorily recorded, and was shortly this. Sir Humphrey Davy having been called upon to examine the state of some coal mines as it regarded the existence in them of an explosive combination called fire damp, carburetted hydrogen mixed with common air, had the curiosity to see with what rapidity the explosion would pass through a tube filled with the mixture. On making some experiments for this purpose, he found that the explosions would not pass at all, through tubes of small size. It was on the knowledge of this fact, now known for the first time to Sir Humphrey Davy, that he contrived the safety lamp; which is merely a lamp surrounded by capillary tubes, for so the interstices of the wire gauze may be considered. But this contrivance was a separate and specific act of invention, not immediately pointed out by philosophy. The fact might have been one of common observation for ages, without having been applied to any useful purpose, had not the attention of a man of genius, like Davy, been called to it at a moment of lively excitement to discover some mode of performing what is now performed by the safety lamp. Dr Wollaston and Mr Tennant both knew that mixtures of carburetted hydrogen and air would not explode in small tubes, before Davy's discovery; yet neither of them constructed a safety lamp from this knowledge. It should, moreover, be remarked, that this improvement was not suggested by a knowledge of the property on which the efficacy of the instru-

ment is supposed by Davy to depend, namely, the high conducting and radiating power of the gauze ; but by observing a particular fact, which might have originated in a developement of this property ; but even this, we believe, is not considered as perfectly certain. Nor did any course of reasoning from a knowledge of the theory of combustion aid at all in the discovery. It might have been made even before any rational theory of combustion was formed, or anything known of the conducting power of the metals, if the fact on which it depends had been observed by an individual possessing the genius necessary to apply it, when known, to the purpose. It appears to us, therefore, that the safety lamp is not purely a gift of science to the arts, any more than all other inventions made before true science, in its popular sense, existed ; or before the operations of the machines and processes of the arts could be rationally explained. But it seems rather the gift of genius enlightened by the knowledge of an important fact or phenomenon, which it turned to a new end by an act of original invention.

The mode followed by Mr Watt, in his great improvement of the steam engine, was altogether similar to that of Davy in the safety lamp. He noticed the fact, that in the engine as formerly constructed, the cylinder was necessarily cooled by the condensing water, to a low temperature, at every descent of the piston ; but it was required that the heat, thus taken from the cylinder, should be restored to it from the steam which followed the piston on its ascent. Hence a great quantity of steam was condensed in merely keeping up this restoration of heat. This fact was not a discovery by scientific deduction from any known laws of heat, but by a keen observation of the operations of the machine. Being once acquainted with it, and highly desirous of preventing the loss of heat which resulted from its influence, Mr Watt contrived the separate condenser, which is the principal element in his improvement. This contrivance was clearly a new creation of genius, not pointed out by science, but added to the stock of instruments in which science can now trace the operation of its general laws, and the verification of its rational theories.

It has generally been supposed that Mr Watt's improvement was, in some way, derived from the theory of latent heat discovered by Dr Black. Mr Watt, however, declares that he was acquainted with the main fact, which we have before stated, on which his invention was built, before he knew anything of the

theory of latent heat. But no evidence of this kind is necessary to the present question, as the invention is altogether independent of the theory of latent heat, and it would be just as important if that theory, and all the facts by which it is supported, did not exist. As it does exist, however, it is certainly involved in the operation of the engine, and a knowledge of it is extremely useful to the engineer. But take it away, and still the steam engine and Mr Watt's improvement, somewhat modified in form, would lose none of its efficacy; on the contrary, it would gain a vast accession of power.

It will be observed that we have as yet spoken only of the course in which improvements are first struck out; of the period in which they are brought from nothing, or from obscure and previously unregarded facts, to hold a place, or to exercise in some way, an agency, in the practice of the arts. In addition to the evidence that we have already exhibited to show that this first step is not a simple application of science, we may adduce the circumstance that the individuals most thoroughly conversant in science, seldom invent a machine or institute a process for the abridgment of the labor of the artisan. With the exception of Davy and Wollaston, in whose recent death English science has suffered a bereavement unequalled since the decease of Newton, the philosophers of Europe have hardly made more inventions, in the arts, than have been made by the same number of men, of equal intellectual power, not particularly devoted to scientific pursuits. Let us be understood, now, as heretofore, as speaking solely of the direct contrivance of machines and methods; and by no means of the discovery of facts, or of the perfection which science has given to machines and processes, when once contrived. Turn over the long catalogue of individuals, rich in the endowments of nature, and ardent in the cultivation of mathematical and physical learning, who have filled our libraries with the results of their admirable labors, and tell us who amongst them has fashioned the iron and brass into a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, or found a substitute for the hand of the spinner and the weaver? And how shall we say that these things have been accomplished by science, when the individuals with whom they originated could make no pretension to deep philosophical knowledge? If this evidence is not of a positive character, it is sufficient, at least, to teach us caution in adopting the favorite language of the day, which, although true in itself, may become a source of error, by being wrongly understood.

How far the common opinion, which we have opposed, may have originated in the system of Lord Bacon, we leave the reader to judge. We cannot, however, forbear a quotation from Playfair on this subject, with the remark, that if the authorities are not considered of equal weight, as it regards the intellects in which they originated, there is some compensation to be found in the condition of time under which they were given, which places them in an opposition much resembling the old and the new methods of philosophy. For the conclusions of the great lawgiver were only drawn from reasoning *a priori*; while those of Playfair may claim the inductive method for their support, having been derived from an experience of two centuries.

'It also appears,' we quote from the *Dissertation on the Progress of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences*, 'that Bacon placed the ultimate object of philosophy too high, and too much out of the reach of man, even when his exertions are most skilfully conducted. He seems to have thought, that, by giving a proper direction to our researches, and carrying them on according to the inductive method, we should arrive at the knowledge of the essences of the powers and qualities residing in bodies; that we should, for instance, become acquainted with the essence of heat, of cold, of color, of transparency. The fact, however is, that, in as far as science has yet advanced, no one essence has been discovered, either as to matter in general, or as to any of its more extensive modifications. We are yet in doubt whether heat is a peculiar motion of the minute parts of bodies, as Bacon himself conceived it to be; or something emitted or radiated from their surfaces; or lastly, the vibrations of an elastic medium, by which they are penetrated and surrounded. Yet whatever be the form or essence of heat, we have discovered a great number of its properties and its laws; and have done so, by pursuing with more or less accuracy the method of induction. We have also this consolation for the imperfection of our theoretical knowledge, that, in as much as art is concerned, or the possession of power over heat, we have perhaps all the advantages that could be obtained from a complete knowledge of its essence.

'An equal degree of mystery hangs over the other properties and modifications of body; light, electricity, magnetism, elasticity, gravity, are all in the same circumstances; and the only advance that philosophy has made towards the discovery of the essences of these qualities or substances is, by exploding some theories, rather than by establishing any; so true is Bacon's maxim, that the first steps in philosophy necessarily consist in negative propositions. Besides this, in all the above instances the laws

of action have been ascertained; the phenomena have been reduced to a few general facts, and in some cases, as in that of gravity, to one only; and for ought that yet appears, this is the highest point which our science is destined to reach.

In consequence of supposing a greater perfection in knowledge than is ever likely to be attained, Bacon appears, in some respects, to have misapprehended the way in which it is ultimately to become applicable to art. He conceives that, if the *form* of any quality were known, we should be able, by inducing that form on any body, to communicate to it the said quality. It is not probable, however, that this would often lead to a more easy and simple process than that which art has already invented. In the case of color, for example, though ignorant of its *form*, or the construction of surface which enables bodies to reflect only light of a particular species; yet we know how to communicate that power from one body to another. Nor is it likely, though this structure were known with ever so great precision, that we should be able to impart it to bodies by any means so simple and easy, as by the common process of immersing them in a liquid of a given color.

In some instances, however, the theories of chemistry have led to improvements of art very conformable to the anticipations of the *Novum Organum*. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the process for bleaching, invented by Berthollet. It had been for some time known, that the combination of the chemical principle of oxygen with the coloring matter in bodies, destroyed, or discharged, the color; and that, in the common process of bleaching, it was chiefly by the union of the oxygen of the air with the coloring matter in the cloth, that this effect was produced. The excellent chemist just named conceived, therefore, that if the oxygen could be presented to the cloth in a dense state, and, at the same time, feebly combined with any other body, it might unite itself to the coloring matter so readily, that the process of bleaching, would, by that means, be greatly accelerated. His skill in chemistry suggested to him a way in which this might easily be done, by immersing the cloth in a liquid containing much oxygen in a loose state, or one in which it was slightly combined with other substances, and the effect followed so exactly, that he was able to perform in a few hours what required weeks, and even months, according to the common process. This improvement, therefore, was a real gift from the sciences to the arts; and came nearly, though not altogether, up to the ideas of Bacon. I suspect not altogether, because the manner in which oxygen destroys the color of bodies, or alters the structure of their surfaces, remains quite unknown.

It was natural, however, that Bacon, who studied these subjects theoretically, and saw nowhere any practical result in which he could confide, should listen to the inspirations of his own genius, and ascribe to philosophy a perfection which it may be destined never to attain. He knew, that from what it had not yet done, he could conclude nothing against what it might hereafter accomplish. But after his method has been followed, as it has now been, with greater or less accuracy, for more than two hundred years, circumstances are greatly changed; and the impediments, which, during all that time, have not yielded in the least to any effort, are perhaps never likely to be removed. This may, however, be a rash inference; Bacon, after all, may be in the right; and we may be judging under the influence of the vulgar prejudice, which has convinced men, in every age, that they had nearly reached the farthest verge of human knowledge. This must be left for the decision of posterity; and we should rejoice to think, that judgment will hereafter be given against the opinion which at this moment appears most probable.

The course pursued by Berthollet, in improving the process of bleaching, is not here given with the usual accuracy of Playfair. Still he thinks, that, taken as he has related it, the ideas of Bacon are not altogether realized in it. A recurrence to the history of that improvement, as given by Berthollet himself, however, in the *Journal de Physique*, and *Annales de Chimie*, will show that it differed, in no essential degree, from the mode pursued in the improvement of the safety lamp and the steam engine, which we have before noticed. It was not reasoning from any theory of the affinity of oxygen with the coloring matter in bodies, that led to the new method of bleaching, but an observation of the fact that chlorine possesses the power of destroying vegetable colors. This fact had been known before to Scheele, and it was on repeating and extending his experiments on chlorine, that Berthollet became acquainted with it. The thought of applying it to the useful purpose of bleaching, no more belongs to science, than the application of water to the purpose of ablution. So, in devising the mode in which the application was effected, we see an act of invention, which would not perhaps have been successful without the light of science, although that light did not directly indicate the path to be trod. Will it be said that the discovery of chlorine itself, was a discovery of science? The same must then be said of all the acids and salts at that time in use; for like them, it was the result of hap-hazard

experiment, and made when chemistry was but a blindly practised art.

From the remarks which we have thus made, on what we conceive to be a misunderstanding of the public, we are led to attempt a brief examination, though we are aware that we shall accomplish it in a very imperfect manner, of the actual mode in which the arts, as it seems to us, are constantly deriving power and advancement from the resources of science.

The practice of almost every art ends in giving new forms to natural bodies, or in making new combinations of them. To do this successfully, it is necessary for us to be acquainted with the qualities of the bodies which thus constitute the materials to be wrought upon. This forms the foundation of all physical science. Carried to the arts, it should not end in the knowledge of those general qualities, merely, by which the existence of external things is recognised by our senses; but it should extend to a knowledge of those qualities from which different bodies receive their distinctive characters. The engineer and artist are, by this knowledge alone, enabled to select substances suited to the purposes of their designs. Thus not only a greater durability in the objects formed is obtained, but greater economy in their construction. It is to this knowledge that we are indebted for the late extended use of iron, in the place of wood and brass, in almost every useful art. It was from a chemical knowledge of the power of lead to withstand the action of sulphuric acid, that this metal was substituted for glass, in forming chambers for the manufacture of that acid. Further, with a knowledge of the chemical composition of useful substances, new modes may be devised for fabricating them from less costly materials than those previously employed; or, the old processes may be conducted with greater precision and economy. It must be confessed, however, that the discovery of the true chemical constitution of bodies, the great boast of modern chemistry, has not done so much for the arts as might have been expected. Nothing is gained from a knowledge that charcoal contains the element of the diamond, so long as no means of fabricating diamonds is supplied by this knowledge. We are not undervaluing this discovery, considered in its relation to science; but merely notice its barrenness in relation to the arts.

The operations in the arts are all comprised in a series of motions. 'In art,' says Lord Bacon, 'man does nothing more than bring things nearer together, or carry them further off.' The most

complicate machine is no more than a device for impressing peculiar motions upon certain operating bodies. From this the direct and constant application of the science of mechanics to the practice of every art, will be at once admitted. Conceive of an individual, not possessing a knowledge of the laws of mechanics, attempting to modify a force, by some system of the mechanical powers, to work some artificial end. He must go on, however excellent his genius, making experiment after experiment, and end, at best, but in a rude approximation to an accurate result. Let the same individual be acquainted with the single principle of virtual velocities, and all is clear and plain; the end is foreseen with perfect distinctness, and attained with absolute precision. It is not alone in new combinations that mechanical science is required; but it is to this, principally, that we owe that constant improvement of machinery, to which, more than to original inventions, we are to attribute the late increased product of the labor employed in manufactures. To it we may often trace the difference between the useless and the perfect machine.

The assistance which the arts find in the resources of geometry, is of a most important kind. The forms of arches, trusses, and other structures, on which the stability of bridges, aqueducts, and edifices generally depends, are subjects of direct geometrical demonstration, or derived by geometrical reasoning from data furnished by experiment. So the figure and proportions of the parts of every machine are perfected only by the methods of geometry.

But perhaps the usefulness of the exact sciences to the arts, is nowhere more conspicuous than in navigation. In determining the place of a ship on the broad ocean, skill and experience alone are nothing, and the observation of the compass and of the heavens would be useless, but for the deductions which science derives from them. It has always appeared to us that the application of science to the arts, is here more direct and immediate than in anything else. In most other instances the end is only wrought through the intervention of some species of machinery; here, the observations being furnished, the sciences of magnitudes and numbers themselves become instruments by the operation of which the required object is produced.

We have thus indicated chemistry, mechanical philosophy, and the mathematics, as the three great sources from which the arts are constantly enriched; and it very often happens that

some knowledge of all of them is required, that either may be rendered useful in art. Thus a mechanical force may originate in chemical affinity, and the application of this force become a subject of mathematical reasoning. Hence, it is perhaps more important to a person engaged in the useful arts to obtain a knowledge of the great truths of philosophy generally, than to narrow his field of research to a single branch of knowledge, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the reasonings or experiments on which its particular truths are established. The architect, for example, may find the length of his rafters from the fortyseventh proposition of Euclid, without knowing the method of reasoning followed in the demonstration. The truth, which he sees verified by experiment, becomes no more safe or useful for his application, by his understanding that it may be made evident from the operation of the mind alone. In the same way the empirical formulas, so common in engineering, are not the less useful because the relations which they exhibit cannot be shown to exist of necessity. So that great class of laws, or established modes of process, which are received in science on the testimony of observation alone, are used in the same way. In these we know nothing of the nature of the relation which exists amongst the appearances, although some relation probably does of necessity exist. If, however, we are acquainted with the order and character of the appearances, it is sufficient for our guidance in the arts; at least they furnish safe guides, and the best which are within our reach.

These may be considered as some of the positive applications of science to the arts. There is another mode, however, in which the arts are advanced by scientific attainments, not less important, though altogether different in character. This consists in restraining our researches to improvements in their nature practicable. It is often lamentable to witness the waste of effort made by ingenious, but ignorant men, to effect objects which science has long ago shown to be unattainable; or, to introduce modes of operation in opposition to the positive laws of nature. It is in the power of science alone, to keep the inventive powers within proper limits, and if insufficient, in itself, to point out inventions, it may be the means of originating them, by showing the futility of idle speculations, and thus confine the inventive faculties to useful exertions.

We believe that the arts have not received all the advantage, which might have been bestowed upon them by a more common

application of the higher geometry to numerous practical details, in which we are now obliged to rely upon tact, or upon the judgment. The cause of this is to be found in the fact, that the acquirement of a familiar acquaintance with these abstruse sciences, is almost incompatible with that devotion to the practice of the useful arts, by which alone the improveable parts of machines, and the works of the engineer and architect can be perceived. It rarely happens, moreover, that any individual combines talents for the higher mathematical pursuits, with a taste for the practice of the useful arts. The reluctance of Archimedes to engage in the practice of mechanics, was not so much characteristic of an individual as of a class. A person thoroughly imbued with the calculus, delights most in applying it to forces in the abstract; to follow motions unimpeded by friction and other inconstant and uncertain disturbances. The noise and smoke of a mill do not correspond with the beauty which he perceives in the vibrations of an infinitely dense point, or the smooth course of the planets. It is true, however, that there have been, particularly of late years, amongst practical men, some of respectable mathematical attainments; and a great number whose knowledge of physical science has been of a high order.

Before dismissing this subject, we cannot refrain from adverting for one moment, to the wonderful things which have been accomplished in the arts by a simple observance of accidental appearances, or by some surprising effort of the inventive powers, unenlightened by science. The public buildings of Europe, particularly the cathedrals, furnish us with remarkable instances of arches and spires, in which science indeed may point out some defects of proportion, but can teach no way of excelling in the grandeur of appearance or durability of construction. Yet these structures, involving the principles of geometry in some of their most important applications, were built by men who, probably, possessed no resources but in their own experience and powers of combination. Many machines, most complicate in their action and perfect in their effect, though constructed in recent times, were produced by the efforts of natural endowments without the particular aid of the schools. Such are most of the machines for spinning, the stocking and lace frames; and we believe we may add that wonderful little moveable labyrinth, the most ingenious invention of the last twenty years. The chemical arts furnish a great number of

substances, of great usefulness, by means which could not have been preconceived from a knowledge of the properties or laws on which their production depends, because they were made before these properties and laws were understood. Many of them, as steel, and some of the alloys and metallic oxides, might no doubt have been fallen upon by chance while their discoverers were in pursuit of some other object; as Columbus fell upon a new world while searching for a particular country in the old. Some of the acids and salts, however, are obtained by such obscure and complicated processes, that it is difficult to conceive in what way they were hit upon. An example of this kind is found in the manufacture of the pigment called white lead, or ceruse, as it is conducted in the old process, which, it may be observed, modern chemistry has not yet been able to supplant. The preparation of alcohol from almost every vegetable of which sugar forms a part, and that by people wholly ignorant of its composition, by savages even, must likewise be attributed either to chance or to a wonderful natural sagacity. The accidental formation of prussian blue, is another remarkable instance of a gift bestowed upon the arts in a way that no ingenuity, however enlightened by science, at least in its present state, would probably have discovered. We ought not, however, on seeing how much has been done by chance, by observation, and by unenlightened genius, to underrate the value of science, but to persevere in its cultivation as a power by which the dominion of man over nature may be carried altogether beyond its present limits.

N. B. C. Paul

ART. IV.—*The Life of Belisarius.* By LORD MAHON. London. John Murray. 1829. 8vo. pp. 473. •

WE presume that Lord Mahon, when he wrote this book, little expected that in a year or two, a new chapter would be so nearly added to the history of Constantinople, the scene of his hero's glory. But we confess, that to us, it gives an interest to his work, which, though correct and faithful, it would not otherwise possess. For every one is now anxious to know the history of this great palace of the ancient and modern world, which in the lapse of ages passed from the hands of free Greeks to those of degenerate Romans, was assaulted by the Bulgarians, who now

rest so quietly under its power, and defended by Belisarius; was threatened by Persians, Saracens, and Russians, in succession; subdued by crusaders, and governed by adventurers with the imperial name; recovered by the Greeks, and menaced by the Moguls, and has now been for nearly four centuries the capital of the Turkish empire. If we may infer from ancient medals, that the crescent moon was the device of ancient Byzantium as well as modern Constantinople, we must acknowledge that this planet, though it has by no means been waxing all the while, is most prophetically descriptive of the changes of this fated city, the central point of so many great revolutions in human affairs.

Lord Mahon has on this occasion entered the lists with Gibbon; a name which the lovers of history must honor, notwithstanding his enmity to Christianity. It would be idle to deny the value of his work, more particularly as the blows of his flail seem to have alighted on his own head. He has been more consulted, even on the subject of the christian history, than all other authorities put together; and perhaps it is well to learn, though from an enemy, how much reproach the follies and vices of Christians have brought upon the christian name. The faults of his style are great; among others that perpetual parenthesis, by which many most important events are thrown into his narrative by way of intimation. But this was partly owing to the vast and various character of his materials, which few hands could have subdued into anything like order. Often he reminds us of the march of a Roman emperor in his magnificent purple; and this stateliness is not displeasing in one who describes the destinies of the Eternal City. We do not mean that Lord Mahon challenges the correctness of this great master. His book is written with great industry, but without pretension. The question at issue between them is not one of fact but conjecture. It is true, his lordship supposes that Belisarius deserves a larger mention than the limits of Gibbon's history would allow; but most readers, we believe, would be satisfied without a full-length portrait, and will allow that the incidental notice of Gibbon is quite sufficient for one, who, though an able and successful soldier, did not differ in glory from many of the lesser lights of the world. He did not write his name on the whole front of the age in which he lived. His only praise was, that he rekindled for a time the dying glory of Rome, and put off a little longer her most righteous doom.

Where Lord Mahon differs from Gibbon, we do not think that he makes out a clear case against him. Gibbon treats the story of the blindness and beggary of Belisarius as a mere fiction, for what appears to us a substantial reason, that, although Belisarius died in the sixth century, this story is not mentioned till the twelfth, and then by an authority of no consideration. To this Lord Mahon replies, that such traditions are not likely to be invented. In this we differ from him. He produces, however, a nameless authority, a little earlier than the one discredited by Gibbon, but without anything to show how much it is entitled to respect. To us it seems that the silence of six centuries demands a well attested reply. There is no force whatever in the argument which Lord Mahon builds on the character of Justinian, maintaining that he would not be likely to restore Belisarius after his disgrace. But there was nothing in the emperor's character more remarkable than his capricious weakness. On the whole we think that the biographer of Belisarius must surrender the interest arising from this romantic tale. We must not omit to mention the servility with which the hero humbled himself before the emperor; the weakness with which he yielded to his abandoned wife, and his seeming, or at least silent consent to the persecution of his son. On the other hand, he may borrow almost any measure of palliation from the character of those times, which were at least as corrupt as any in the history of man.

We hope it will not be out of place to say a few words on the subject of true greatness, of which Belisarius, according to the moral sentiment of the world, would pass for a shining example. It should be mentioned, however, that much of the interest attached to his name, is owing to the statue in the Villa Borghese, to the well known picture of Vandyck, prints of which are so common, and perhaps more than all to the romance of Marmontel.

The decision of our faith on the subject of greatness is conveyed in a few impressive words. When the disciples were contending which should be the greatest, their Master said, 'Whoever would be chief among you, let him be your servant.' Now by 'servant,' we understand one who performs a service for another in hope of a reward; and as to his being 'chief,' we understand it as referring to a future life, where they that have been humble on earth shall be exalted, and the proud brought low. But this is a wretched limitation of its meaning. To us

these words seem to be meant as a definition of true glory. Their meaning spreads and deepens beneath our view, and instead of applying to a single relation of human life, they are found to be a guide to human greatness, and a measure for human applause. They show that the things commonly supposed to be high, are not so in reality; and in this new dialect of Christianity, to be respectable means to be useful, and they that are of most service to others, are actually the chief among men.

We have no doubt that the time will come when usefulness will be the measure of glory, and the amount of energy spent in the service of others, will form the only efficient claim to the admiration of enlightened minds. But now, this matter is but poorly understood. In the common walks of life, men seem ambitious to reach that state where they can be most idle and useless; and they are so weak and blind as to reverence those who injure and destroy them, more than those who endeavour to do them good. To serve others, is counted hardship, humiliation, and self-denial, and men profess to submit to it in the hope of a future reward; but in reality, to serve others is honorable; to do good, though in humble ways, is honorable, and the greatest among men are those who labor with the greatest powers and the warmest self-devotion in the service of their fellow men.

The doctrine of Christianity on this subject, is that of sense and reason, but it is not the one that prevails in the world. To be able to command the services of others, and render nothing in return; to be able to sit in state, and see others tremble; to be able to let all the faculties of body and mind rest in lazy luxury; to have a right to cumber the ground by a useless existence, is the exalted condition which has inspired most human ambition. And this idle and false impression sprang from savage life. Man, in his wild and unimproving, and therefore his unnatural state, abhors activity of body or mind. Nothing but hunger, necessity, or overpowering passion can rouse the savage to exertion, and when the excitement is over he rejoices to subside to rest. This, as might be expected, is still the feeling of the uncultivated among civilized men. The savage state is that of war, and as we have inherited its taste for war, we have also borrowed from it our notions of greatness and glory.

Even the ancient prophets, when collecting their ideas of greatness to form the character of God, being obliged to give such representations as men could understand, encouraged and

sustained this impression. They adored him simply as a God of power. They thought of him as sitting in the solitude of his unapproachable glory. They had no idea of a being present at all times in all parts of the vast creation, moving and upholding all by his might. They did not know what was truly great. Therefore they degraded the divine character in reality, while they were exalting it in the eyes of men. Nothing could be more natural than that an error so universal, should lead to excesses ; and we conceive that military glory rests on this foundation. If it was not honorable to serve men, it was but one step further to count it honorable to injure and destroy them ; and hence it is, that the names of so many who deserved to die for their crimes, are yet floating on the admiring breath of men, their glory measured by the lands they have desolated and filled with mourning, and by the rivers of blood they have caused to flow ; and this path of glory leads to a greatness almost equally unfeeling, guilty, and revolting. Such was the empire which crowned the treason to the human race, of the Cæsars of old, and the Napoleons of modern time.

But we take encouragement from the thought that the world is opening its eyes. There is no longer, among enlightened men at least, so blind and passionate an admiration of these great offenders ; and it is hardly necessary to say that when the admiration ceases, the ambition will soon go down. We feel grateful to our religion for opening this new path of distinction, though it is not yet beaten hard by the numbers that have walked therein. The rich is not so much flattered in his uselessness ; the warrior no longer feels as if he could carve out a durable monument with his sword alone ; the whole heraldry of destroying spirits are growing dim in the morning light. And since men have learned that those are but poisonous laurels that grow on the field of blood, they are beginning to discover that the divinest spirit on earth is that of the living and dying martyr ; the one, pressing forward in the service of his race, with a zeal that no ingratitude can depress and no obstacles withstand ; the other 'with a face like an angel's,' lighted up by the serenity within, calmly surrendering his life in lingering waste or sudden torture, to extend the blessings of truth, freedom, and happiness, to the less favored among men.

If it be asked upon what foundation we rest this hope that useful intellectual exertion will hereafter be the measure of greatness, we may say, in general terms, upon the improvement

of the human race. The military passion and the useless greatness which have so long engrossed ambition, are the vestiges of barbarous times, and in proportion as men grow enlightened, they cut themselves loose from these delusions. We have a familiar example in ancient Greece. The military profession was honorable, it is true, because it was essential to the existence of its little states; but we find the command of armies entrusted to orators and statesmen, to those who had given no proofs of military talent, evidently upon the presumption that the greater implied the less; that men who had displayed abilities of the highest order, could not be wanting in the lower attributes of mind. Such must always be the case, as men grow enlightened. Their admiration, their honors, and all that inspires and rewards exertion, is transferred to intellectual achievements, and military exploits are valued only when they come under this description. The hero who directs the operations of some vast campaign, anticipating hostile designs, foreseeing and providing for distant chances, planning the vast machinery which seems wild and purposeless to common eyes, but moves on at last like a decree of fate to its object through a brilliant list of victories, is revered for the intellectual resources which he discovers; while the one whose claim to renown rests upon fortunate accidents, or unforeseen and successful actions, who manifests only that courage which every man must be supposed to possess till he has proved himself deficient, and which in its best estate belongs at least as much to the body as the mind, sinks to the level of vulgar applause.

To exalt the interests and claims of the mind, is one great step to the result we have mentioned; and we must not say, upon a hasty view of the matter, that intellectual eminence is no more estimated now than it was a century ago. We may say, perhaps, that literary men in France, before the revolution, were treated with profound respect in the saloons of fashion and the courts of kings; and the despotism of Johnson may give an impression, that intellect stood higher in his day than in this. But the standing of intellectual men in this day, may be defined in one word; they are *independent*, and this is much more than can be said of those of former times. In France, they were treated with a studied courtesy, like that paid to the female sex, implying conscious superiority and condescension in the giver. But this was a precarious honor. Witness Racine, withered by the frown of a king; Voltaire, flying from the insolence of Louis,

to be flattered and tormented by Frederick; and Marmontel has left us a testimony of his dread of Saxe, whose name is known to thousands only by the fine description of the battle of Fontenoy. The English monarchy of Johnson, formidable as it was in its own sphere, extended but a little way. His stormy voice was seldom heard in the halls of rank and fashion; and he himself declares, that the most exalted intellectual man in the nation, if in the company of high officers who had seen service, would wish to creep under the table. This is doubtless a strong expression; but it was true that military glory then transcended all other, even in enlightened minds, who, though they could not account for the enchantment, peaceably submitted to the delusion.

But now times are seriously altered. Though denied the privileges of choosing their civil rulers, the people can choose their sovereigns in every department of mind; or rather, the man of intellectual power exerts of himself an influence which kings might envy; such an influence as rank and title never gave, and can never take away. The fate of nations is decided, not by the campaigns of a successful general, but in the more glorious strife of mind with mind. We wonder what great military name of England comes near in interest to that of Burke, or what crusade against the French revolution did half as much as his *Reflections* to resist its tide. There is a splendor, too, surrounding the names of Fox and Pitt, statesmen and nothing but statesmen though they were, before which the military fame of the age grows dim. Compare the name of Wellington with that of Brougham, and the fire and glow of enthusiasm which each sound awakens. The reputation of Scott also, bounded only by the limits of civilization, is such as might fill the proudest conqueror that ever lived, with admiration and despair. We might not, perhaps, place him in the foremost rank of usefulness; but his fame, and that of other great poets, is the farie of intellectual men, and their success is the triumph of the mind.

It may be a question, whether more decided usefulness meets as yet with its due measure of applause. But the name of Howard is now a title of honor; and that of Wilberforce, though it has been too much appropriated by a party, is one of those by which the age will be remembered. We could mention other living names which the world delights to honor. And we are not sure that he who adds to the treasures of science, enlarges the boundaries of thought, and inspires in others an ambition to cherish and use the intellectual gifts of God, is less a benefactor

to his race, than he who removes the immediate pressure of evils. To make known the laws of the heavens, confers as substantial benefits on the mariner, as building lighthouses or retreats for the shipwrecked along the shore. But our admiration grows warmer, not according to the benefits received, but the dangers and hardships encountered. This is as it should be. For he is the best friend of man, who promotes the happiness of others at the greatest expense of his own.

No one certainly has more to do than the historian, with this great principle of Christianity. He must regard it in order to keep up with his age. All intellectual improvement throws the religion into bolder relief, and shows how plainly it was intended for a living letter; meant to govern, not only in the action of life, but in the more peaceful province of the mind. If he has the least spark of that interest in his race, without which history should not be written, every page will glow with the spirit of religion; not the cold, unsocial, gloomy spirit that too often bears the name, but with the spirit of philanthropy, with an earnest desire to record every benevolent deed with honor, with a heart that burns within him as he writes it down; and he will do all he can, to dispel that insane delusion, to prevent that mad suicide of its best interests, which makes the world worship those who fill it with suffering and drench it with blood. This would interest every historian as a curious problem in moral feeling—that men should regard conscience and duty as a restraint which the humble must obey, and the great may break violently through, regarding these offenders, as astronomers once looked on the vagrant orbs that sometimes shoot through the system, treating their disastrous revolutions as subject to no heavenly law; that men, generally so wide awake to sympathy with the oppressed, should on these occasions always take part with the destroyer, follow him with curses neither loud nor deep, cheer him onward in the blaze of his fame, and weep with thoughtful sensibility over his fall.

We believe that there is no power like that the historian possesses, to remove these venerable errors, and establish better feelings in their stead. The poet, like Shakspeare or Scott, may do more with one bright touch of his celestial pencil. Witness the character of Richard, struck off with seeming carelessness by the former, which neither the doubts of the coxcomb Walpole, nor the industry of later sceptics can alter. But we do not give implicit faith to poetical inspiration; while, if the historian shows

but a decent fairness, we are ready to adopt his partialities and aversions, and welcome whatever impression he chooses to give. For days or weeks, we are employed in reading his work; we lay it down reluctantly, and take it up with fondness in the next leisure hour; we feel towards him as a friend who has helped us to while away some of the weary moments of existence; and thus we are apt to surrender our judgment with perfect confidence to his direction, as a just return for the pleasure and instruction he has given. Now when we consider that the subject is one of universal interest, and one in which no person of education can well be wanting, it is plain that the historian has almost unrivalled power to remove or confirm old prejudices and delusions. We are happy in believing, that in our country, and we presume in others, the works of historians are read by those who never think of resorting to poetry or the last new novel. The page of history, which the laborer reads at night, forms his meditation all the next day. Its events and characters, with the coloring that happens to be given, thus wear into his mind with a depth and reality which it is hopeless to attempt to alter.

Hume affords us an illustration much to the purpose. Every one has been struck with the fact, more generally true twenty years ago than it is now, that while our home prejudices were all on the side of freedom, our historical partialities were all for absolute power. We used to think with indignation of the first resistance offered to Charles I. His death might reasonably be deplored as a great and useless crime; but the patriotism of Hampden seemed to us like vulgar turbulence, and the descendants of the Pilgrims were enemies of everything that looked like resistance to the throne. This fact, which no one whose memory is twenty years old will deny, is explained by the popularity of Hume. He was an elegant historian, a cool and sceptical observer, never led away by his enthusiasm, and to all appearance the very perfection of philosophical impartiality. Now, this spell is completely broken, and the imperfect and partial character of his work is generally understood; but it lasted long enough to show, that if a man of superior powers, a manly and devoted lover of his race, a constitutional friend of freedom entirely separate from party, one whose judgments are so sincere that they rise into the earnestness and dignity of feelings, should pour out his soul in this channel, his mastery would be complete. Such there certainly will be; such, we might almost say, are some of the present historians of constitutional freedom.

But their influence is weakened by the impression, whether just or not, that, in their triumphs at the advance of liberty, they are only recording the interested verdict of a party.

What character such a feeling as we have spoken of, would have given to the great work of Gibbon, it is useless now to conjecture. He evidently had none of it. As a politician and a man his sympathy was all on the side of absolute power. There is no inconsistency between classical enthusiasm and a discriminating judgment in these matters. The sternest republican, like John Wesley among the English ruins, may be deeply moved as he gazes on the ruins of Rome. But this need not make him regret, nor teach others to regret, the removal of the most stupendous curse which the world ever saw. The Roman empire was a vast and monstrous creation of ambition. It was ravenous and grasping; unfaithful in its covenants, and revengeful in its triumphs. Its armies rolled over the nations like millstones, grinding them to powder. Its banner cast a deadly shadow over the world for ages, beneath which everything refined and excellent withered as soon as it grew. It was savage in its infancy, wild and lawless in its growth, corrupt and degraded in its fall. The ancient world is not destitute of examples, both of men and nations, infinitely more worthy than the Roman of a just and rational admiration. Its fate resembles that of the cities of the plain; the foundations of its guilty greatness sunk beneath it, and the dead sea of ignorance and barbarism covered the ground where it stood.

It will be seen from what we have said that we do not consider Belisarius entitled to peculiar regard. True, he must be tried by the standard of his own times, and perhaps he may claim to be called the Last of the Romans. He undoubtedly sustained for a time the sinking fabric of Roman greatness, but he has left no other impression on the history of the world. Our author dismisses the subject of the result of his victories in a page and a half. His claims, therefore, are wholly personal; and in his private character we can discover nothing great. Grotius has commented on his seizure of certain fortresses as an act of perfidy in his public capacity; his submission to his wife, the detestable Antonina, is too well known to be repeated; and Lord Mahon has not succeeded in restoring the interest which misfortune always throws round the brave.

We intend to convey no censure on Lord Mahon, by what we have just said. His work is a manly and unpretending es-

thought, yet they are greatly deficient in that clear method and arrangement which is one of the most indispensable requisites in sermon writing; and though there is a vein of good sense running through them, the mind of the intelligent reader is very seldom arrested by passages which task its attention, or set its powers at work. Diffusiveness seems to us to be the reigning characteristic of their style; and hence arise the breathless and almost endless sentences which abound in them more than in any other sermons with which we are acquainted.

The poetical taste and talent of their author, might decidedly be inferred from passages which here and there occur, even if we did not know that he was a poet. These passages, by the beauty of their allusions and illustrations, form an occasional happy relief to the general dryness which pervades the volumes. The first sermon in the volume containing the discourses preached in England, opens with an instance in point. The sermon is entitled, *Time and Eternity*.

'There is an ancient fable told by the Greek and Roman Churches, which, fable as it is, may for its beauty and singularity well deserve to be remembered, that in one of the earliest persecutions to which the christian world was exposed, seven christian youths sought concealment in a lonely cave, and there, by God's appointment, fell into a deep and death-like slumber. They slept, the legend runs, two hundred years, till the greater part of mankind had received the faith of the gospel, and that church which they had left a poor and afflicted orphan, had "kings" for her "nursing fathers, and queens" for her "nursing mothers." They then at length awoke, and entering into their native Ephesus, so altered now that its streets were altogether unknown to them, they cautiously inquired if there were any Christians in the city? "Christians!" was the answer, "we are all Christians here!" and they heard with a thankful joy the change which, since they left the world, had taken place in the opinions of its inhabitants. On one side they were shown a stately fabric, adorned with a gilded cross, and dedicated, as they were told, to the worship of their crucified Master; on another, schools for the public exposition of those gospels, of which so short a time before, the bare profession was proscribed and deadly. But no fear was now to be entertained of those miseries which had encircled the cradle of Christianity; no danger now of the rack, the lions, or the sword; the emperor and his prefects held the same faith with themselves, and all the wealth of the east, and

all the valor and authority of the western world, were exerted to protect and endow the professors and the teachers of their religion.

But joyful as these tidings must, at first, have been, their further inquiries are said to have met with answers which very deeply surprised and pained them. They learned that the greater part of those who called themselves by the name of Christ, were strangely regardless of the blessings which Christ had bestowed, and of the obligations which he had laid on his followers. They found that, as the world had become Christian, Christianity itself had become worldly; and wearied and sorrowful they besought of God to lay them asleep again, crying out to those who followed them, "you have shewn us many heathens who have given up their old idolatry without gaining anything better in its room; many who are of no religion at all; and many with whom the religion of Christ is no more than a cloak of licentiousness; but where, where are the Christians?" And thus they returned to their cave; and there God had compassion on them, releasing them, once for all, from that world for whose reproof their days had been lengthened, and removing their souls to the society of their ancient friends and pastors, the martyrs and saints of an earlier and a better generation.

The admiration of former times is a feeling at first, perhaps, engrafted on our minds by the regrets of those who vainly seek in the evening of life, for the sunny tints which adorned their morning landscape; and who are led to fancy a deterioration in surrounding objects, when the change is in themselves, and the twilight in their own powers of perception. It is probable that, as each age of the individual or the species is subject to its peculiar dangers, so each has its peculiar and compensating advantages; and that the difficulties which, at different periods of the world's duration, have impeded the believer's progress to heaven, though in appearance infinitely various, are, in amount, very nearly equal. It is probable that no age is without its sufficient share of offences, of judgments, of graces, and of mercies, and that the corrupted nature of mankind was never otherwise than hostile or indifferent to the means which God has employed to remedy its misery. Had we lived in the times of the infant church, even amid the blaze of miracle on the one hand, and the chastening fires of persecution on the other, we should have heard, perhaps, no fewer complaints of the cowardice and apostacy, the dissimulation and murmuring, inseparable from a continuance of public distress and danger, than we now hear regrets for those days of wholesome affliction, when the mutual love of believers was strengthened by their common danger; when their want of worldly advantages disposed them to regard a release

from the world with hope far more than with apprehension, and compelled the church to cling to her Master's cross alone for comfort and for succour.

'Still, however, it is most wonderful, yea rather by this very consideration is our wonder increased at the circumstance, that in any or every age of Christianity such inducements and such menaces as the religion of Christ displays, should be regarded with so much indifference, and postponed for objects so trifling and comparatively worthless. If there were no other difference but that of duration between the happiness of the present life and of the life which is to follow, or though it were allowed us to believe that the enjoyments of earth were, in every other respect, the greater and more desirable of the two, this single consideration of its eternity would prove the wisdom of making heaven the object of our more earnest care and concern; of retaining its image constantly in our minds; of applying ourselves with a more excellent zeal to everything which can help us in its attainment, and of esteeming all things as less than worthless which are set in comparison with its claims, or which stand in the way of its purchase.' pp. 1-5.

The fable is well told, and the remarks occasioned by it are judicious. Altogether the passage may serve as a favorable specimen of the Bishop's sermons. To criticise them, however, in any point of view, either as literary performances, or as practical discourses, intended to produce certain moral effects, was not our main object in undertaking the present notice of them. We particularly desired to gather from them the author's sentiments and impressions respecting christian missions in the East Indies. From his situation and opportunities, we considered him as one of the very best of witnesses on this subject. In that country he held, though unhappily but for a few years, the highest ecclesiastical office in the English Church. He was confessedly diligent and able in the discharge of its duties. He was fair, candid, moderate and upright in his opinions and decisions. He had too much sagacity to suffer himself to be greatly imposed upon; too much coolness to impose upon himself, and an integrity which could not permit him to impose upon others. On all these accounts, it struck us, as soon as we saw these volumes, that the statements concerning the condition and progress of Christianity in India, which he probably would give in them, might be relied upon with a great degree of security. These statements, though not so particular as we could wish, are nevertheless interesting, and, considering their source, valuable. We

will lay them before our readers, with a few remarks of our own, and leave them to make their due impression.

In the volume, which, for the sake of brevity, we shall call the English volume, there is one sermon on the general merits of the missionary question. It is entitled, the Conversion of the Heathen, and is founded on that clause in the Lord's prayer, *Thy kingdom come*. It begins with an explanation of the phrase, the kingdom of God, and of the import of the petition, that this kingdom may come. He considers it to be a prayer for the extension of true religion, not only in our own hearts, but throughout the world, and he then exhorts his hearers to act in the spirit of that prayer.

'My brethren, there are many millions of men in the world, hundreds of millions, to whom these blessed truths are yet unknown. Millions who have lost the knowledge of the one true God amid a multitude of false or evil deities; who bow down to stocks and stones; who propitiate their senseless idols with cruel and bloody sacrifices; who lose sight of their dying friends with no expectation of again beholding them, and who go down to the grave themselves in doubt and trembling ignorance, without light, without hope, without knowledge of a Saviour!

'Is it your pleasure, is it your desire, that these your fellow creatures should be brought from darkness into light, that they should share with you your helps, your hopes, your knowledge, your salvation? Can you pray with sincerity that the kingdom of God may come to them as it has come to you; and will you, thus desiring and thus praying, refuse to furnish, according to your ability, the means of bringing it to them? You cannot, you will not, you dare not!' p. 200.

The following extract, which immediately succeeds the paragraphs which we have quoted above, will show that Heber was not one of those, who believe that the heathen will all suffer the pains of eternal fire for being ignorant of what they have never heard or seen, and therefore cannot know, the gospel of Christ. At the same time it will show, that neither is he one of those, who have taken up the idea, that the heathen are in all respects as well off as Christians.

'"But still," it has been said, "if these men are ignorant they are at least safe. If much has not been given to them, much will not be required from them; and if the honest and virtuous heathen lives up to his imperfect knowledge, he may be admitted by that God whose mercy is over all his works, to that

heaven of which he has not received the promise." It may be so, and in many instances I trust that it will be so. I trust in God that the merits of Christ may be the fountain of life to many who, in this world, have had no opportunity of tasting his living waters. But even this hope will afford little comfort to those who look impartially on the general conduct of heathen nations, since, though a blind and imperfect endeavour after holiness may be accepted, the sins even of the most ignorant, so long as those sins are committed in opposition to the law of nature, and the light of natural reason and conscience, must be exceedingly hateful to God, and call down from him their due measure of punishment. It is not necessary to suppose that he who was imperfectly informed of his Master's will, and committed things worthy of stripes, will be chastised so severely as those sinners who enjoyed and abused the full light of the gospel; but chastised he must be if the word of God is true, and the mildest of God's chastisements are described to us in colors dreadful enough to make the flesh creep and the ears tingle.

'The heathen, by far the greater part of them, are anything but innocent and conscientious followers of the law of nature. Child-murder, unkindness to parents, dishonesty, lying, and bloody cruelty, abound among them to a degree, of which the wickedness of Christians, great as it is, can furnish no adequate idea. And if by some rare advantage of temper and situation, a comparatively innocent and holy man may here and there be met with, like "a firebrand plucked out of the burning," this is but a fresh encouragement to make known the ways of peace to the multitudes who are perishing, and to give to those few, who make so good use of their imperfect lights, the far greater help and comfort of the gospel. Be sure, my friends, it is not a needless task which He, who knew all things, undertook when he came to give light to those that sat in darkness. It was no superfluous revelation to confirm which so many miracles were wrought, so many prophecies delivered, so pure and precious blood poured forth on the rocks of Calvary. It was no needless labor which Christ imposed on his apostles, to go and preach his gospel unto every creature, nor is that an idle or unmeaning prayer which we are taught to utter in the words, "Thy kingdom come!" It remains to be seen whether our lips and our hearts go together.' pp. 200-202.

These considerations, we think, are just and forcible. They are followed up by some others in the next paragraph, which we shall also extract. We cannot conceive how the indifference of those, who, calling themselves Christians, profess to feel no inter-

est in the diffusion of our religion in the world, can stand against them.

'If, indeed, the spiritual danger of the heathen were less great, if their spiritual advantages were greater than we have any reason to suppose them, yet, from a regard to their temporal wants, it would be our duty to desire and contend for the extension of Christianity. Wherever she goes, civilization follows in her train ; wherever she goes, the duties and the rights of mankind are practised and recognised ; the fetters of the slave are lightened and removed ; the female sex are restored to their natural situation and their kindly influence in society ; and the profession of godliness is shown to be great riches, as contributing to the wisdom, the wealth, and the happiness of the nation which receives it. Let us compare our present condition with that of our forefathers while the gospel was yet unknown to them ! Let us recollect that the poorest man who now hears me is more warmly clad, more comfortably lodged, enjoys a mind better stored with ideas, and greater security of liberty, life, and property, than a king among the wild Americans or the ancient Britons ; and we shall feel and understand the blessings of a religion, which has been the principal agent in a change so beneficial, a religion by which the ignorance of man is enlightened, and his manners rendered gentle, which, by protecting the fruits of industry, has encouraged every useful invention, and which, even amid the increasing luxury of the rich, has lessened the distance between them and the poor, by calling the attention of both to that awful moment when all shall be equal in each other's eyes, as they are now in the eyes of their Maker !' pp. 202, 203.

Such were the sentiments of this distinguished man, before he was made Bishop of Calcutta. They sufficiently exhibit his conviction that it was a solemn duty to attempt the conversion of the heathen. On turning to the volume of sermons preached in India, we find it prefaced by a Valedictory Address to Bishop Heber, delivered at a special meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, on the occasion of the Bishop's departure for India ; in which address, as also in the answer to it, we may learn something of what is thought in the English Church, not only of what ought to be, but of what has been done in the work of conversion, by an ecclesiastical establishment in the colonies corresponding to that at home, and forming, indeed, a part of it. The Bishop of Bristol, the Right Rev. John Kaye, by whom the valedictory address was pronounced, expresses himself on this point as follows.

'Nine years have now elapsed since your lamented predecessor entered upon the discharge of his episcopal functions; and that, which then could only afford a subject for conjecture and for hope, has become a matter of retrospect and of certainty. All the accounts which have reached the society, concur in stating that the new measures have been attended with more complete success than from the shortness of time, during which they have been in operation, the most sanguine could have ventured to anticipate. Many of the impediments which directly or indirectly, retarded the reception of the gospel, have been removed. The establishment of a visible church has opened an asylum to the convert from the taunts and injuries of the professors of his former faith. The progressive improvement effected in the lives and conversation of the European settlers has deprived the natives of one of their most powerful arguments against the truth of Christianity. They no longer look upon us as mere conquerors, greedy only of wealth and of dominion; but as a virtuous and religious people, not less superior to them in moral goodness than in civilization and manners—in justice and benevolence than in arts and arms. Their attachment to their caste, which seemed to present the most formidable obstacle to their conversion, has been overcome. The mists, which enveloped their understandings, are fast dissolving before the irradiating influence of sacred truth. The superstitious dread, with which they regarded their deities, is giving place to juster conceptions of the divine nature; and the priests of the idol of Juggernaut are compelled to bewail the decreasing numbers and diminished zeal of his votaries.' pp. xxiii, xxiv.

To this part of the address, Bishop Heber thus alludes in his answer.

'Nor, my Lord Archbishop,* will I seek to dissemble my conviction, that, slow as the growth of truth must be in a soil so strange, and hitherto so spiritually barren; distant as the period may be when any very considerable proportion of the natives of India shall lift up their hands to the Lord of Hosts, yet, in the degree of progress which has been made, enough of promise is given to remove all despondency as to the eventual issue of our labors. When we recollect, that one hundred years have scarcely passed away, since the first missionaries of this society essayed, under every imaginable circumstance of difficulty and discouragement, to plant their grain of mustard-seed in the Carnatic; when we look back to those apostolic men with few resour-

* The Archbishop of Canterbury presided at the meeting.

ces, save what this society supplied to them; without encouragement, without support; compelled to commit themselves, not to the casual hospitality, but to the systematic and bigoted inhospitality, of the natives; seated in the street, because no house would receive them; acquiring a new and difficult language, at the doors of the schools, from the children tracing their letters on sand; can we refrain not only from admiring the faith and patience of those eminent saints, but from comparing their situation with the port which Christianity now assumes in the east, and indulging the hope that, one century more, and the thousands of converts which our missionaries already number, may be extended into a mighty multitude, who will look back with gratitude to this society as the first dispenser of those sacred truths which will then be their guide and their consolation? What would have been the feelings of Schwartz, (*"clarum et venerabile nomen Gentibus;"* to whom even the heathen, whom he failed to convince, looked up as something more than mortal,) what would have been his feelings had he lived to witness Christianity in India established under the protection of the ruling power, by whom four-fifths of that vast continent is held in willing subjection? What, if he had seen her adorned and strengthened by that primitive and regular form of government, which is so essential to her reception and stability among a race like our eastern fellow-subjects! What forbids, I ask, that, when in one century, our little one is become a thousand, in a century more, that incipient desertion of the idol shrines, to which the learned Prelate so eloquently alluded, may have become total, and be succeeded by a resort of all ranks and ages to the altars of the Most High; so that a parochial clergy may prosecute the work which the missionary has begun, and *"the gleanings of Ephraim may be more than the vintage of Abiezer?"*

pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

It will be seen from the above extracts, that great stress is laid, by the speakers, on the importance of a church establishment in India. We are disposed to agree with them in this respect. Not that we think there is any intrinsic superiority in the English Church, or any peculiar holiness and efficacy in her doctrines or forms; not, indeed, that we are attached to any union of church and state under any ordinary circumstances, but we think that under the very remarkable circumstances in which the British power exists in India, the government should manifest especial attention to religion, and take it under its visible care. The natives ought to see that the religion of Christ is

respected by those who are in authority over them, and that its rites and its ministers are respected, and then they will acquire a habit of respecting it themselves, and begin to think that it is not such a terrible disgrace to adopt it. They ought to be made to feel that their conquerors and masters are earnest in their attachment to it, and that they favor and honor those who would promote it, and that they consider their own interests and dignity as bound up with it ; and then they will lean more and more towards it, and gradually acquire a regard for its authority, while in the same ratio their disregard for the idolatries and cruelties of Hindooism, and above all for the loss of caste, will increase. It is not easy for us to bring our republican lips to utter these things, but we do soberly believe them to be truth. We believe that the English Church in India is comparatively of more advantage to the cause of Christianity, than the English Church in England. We believe it happy for that cause, that the masters of India have a church which they call their own, and we believe that while they should not only tolerate, but encourage the honest efforts of other churches and denominations, they ought in every proper way to foster and recommend and magnify their own. It has long been our opinion, that the British government and hierarchy, in cooperation with the government of British India, have the power of doing more, by resolutely frowning on the worst of the Hindoo superstitions, such as the suttees, and the prejudices of caste, and by vigorously supporting a body of respectable missionaries and clergy, establishing schools, and encouraging all the means of Christian instruction,—have the power of doing more, we say, in these and other modes, for the diffusion of the christian religion in India, than the missionaries of other sects and other nations, and even the great native missionary, Rammohun Roy, put all together. Of course we shall not be suspected of a wish to undervalue the labors of the Indian Reformer, and we are not conscious of an intention to undervalue those of any class of missionaries. But if the authorities of the state seriously and perseveringly recommend, without, however, making the least attempt to enforce, their own professed religion, it will, sooner or later, be recommended to the natives, or we have no knowledge of humanity. Temporal power, with all its accompaniments, will have its effect on the minds of the mass of men, and its indirect will be even greater than its direct influence.

If it is said, that this is making low and servile motives to

operate in the great work of christian conversion, we answer, that low as they are, or are supposed to be, they are natural and necessary, and have, in the course of God's providence, and through the whole progress of Christianity, been in constant operation, and with final beneficial effects. One of the kings of ancient England was converted by St Augustin, we think it was, upon which the whole body of his subjects moved over to Christianity with him, by word of command. This was a servile conversion; but we are not disposed to quarrel with it, or to wish that it had never taken place. The people were not fit to be operated upon by very high motives. They changed a bad religion for one which even in the dark ages was better, much better; they changed it peaceably, and peaceably have their descendants enjoyed the change. A pure religion was introduced into a rude country, and has been performing its work of purification ever since. Who would be so mad as to insist that it would have been better if no convert had been made in that country, but by the force of argument, and by convincing him how much better was the religion of Jesus than the religion of Woden? If this had been the way, England might have been a heathen land till this time. The truth is, that interested motives must always have some influence over vulgar and uneducated minds. Let them receive better principles, according to their own nature and organization, and then let those principles perform their appropriate offices. We have no idea that the inhabitants of the British possessions in India, are to be brought over to the christian faith all at once, like the subjects of the Saxon prince, but we believe that they are to be gradually acted upon by many other means beside direct arguments and appeals, and that the thousand influences, some of them imperceptible, of the English government, and the English Church, will be among the chief of those means.

These views receive confirmation in the volume now before us, which contains the sermons preached in India. The charge to the clergy of the Indian diocese, which precedes the sermons, comprises more information on the state and prospects of Christianity there, than is to be found in the rest of the volume, which principally consists of discourses on ordinary topics. We shall therefore make from it our most copious extracts.

The Bishop begins his charge by lamenting the 'very great deficiency, in numerical strength, of the clergy of the Indian establishment.' This he ascribes, not to the remissness of rulers,

but to various causes, some of which, we presume, have by this time ceased to operate. It appears that twentyeight chaplains are assigned by the Company to the Presidency of Fort William, of which number only fifteen were then 'on their posts, and effective.' Inviting the attention of the young clergy in the mother country to the wants of the Indian church, he draws a picture of what an Indian chaplain ought to be, and what he ought to do, and expect, which is so beautiful, eloquent, and touching, that we cannot forbear quoting it.

'It is, indeed, most true, that those men would be much mistaken who should anticipate, in the fortune of an Indian chaplain, a life of indolence, of opulence, of luxury. An Indian chaplain must come prepared for hard labor in a climate where labor is often death; he must come prepared for rigid self-denial in situations where all around him invites to sensual indulgence; he must be content with an income liberal, indeed, in itself, but very often extremely disproportioned to the charities, the hospitalities, the unavoidable expenses of his station. He must be content to bear his life in his hand, and to leave, very often, those dearer than life to His care who feeds the ravens.

'Nor are the qualifications which he will need, nor are the duties which will rest on him, less arduous than the perils of his situation. He must be no uncourtly recluse, or he will lose his influence over the higher ranks of his congregation. He must be no man of pleasure, or he will endanger their souls and his own. He must be a scholar, and a man of cultivated mind, for, in many of his hearers (wherever he is stationed), he will meet with a degree of knowledge and refinement which a parochial minister in England does not often encounter, and a spirit, sometimes of fastidious and even sceptical criticism, which the society, the habits, and, perhaps, the very climate of India; has a natural tendency to engender. He must condescend to simple men, for here, as elsewhere, the majority of his congregation will, nevertheless, be the ignorant and the poor.

'Nor, in his intercourse with this humble class of his hearers, must he anticipate the same cheering circumstances which make the house of the English parochial minister a school and temple of religion, and his morning and evening walk a source of blessing and blessedness. His servants will be of a different creed from himself, and insensible, in too many instances, to his example, his exhortations, and his prayers. His intercourse will not be with the happy and harmless peasant, but with the dissipated, the diseased, and often, demoralized soldier. His feet will not be found at the wicker gate of the well-known cottage;

beneath the venerable tree ; in the grey church-porch, or by the side of the hop-ground and the corn-field ; but he must kneel by the bed of infection or despair, in the barrack, the prison, or the hospital.

‘ But to the well-tempered, the well-educated, the diligent and pious clergyman, who can endear himself to the poor without vulgarity, and to the rich without involving himself in their vices ; who can reprove sin without harshness, and comfort penitence without undue indulgence ; who delights in his Master’s work, even when divested of those outward circumstances which in our own country contribute to render the work picturesque and interesting ; who feels a pleasure in bringing men to God, proportioned to the extent of their previous wanderings ; who can endure the coarse (perhaps fanatical) piety of the ignorant and vulgar, and listen with joy to the homely prayers of men long strangers to the power of religion ; who can do this, without himself giving way to vain enthusiasm ; and whose good sense, sound knowledge, and practical piety, can restrain and reclaim the enthusiasm of others to the due limits of reason and scripture ; to him, above all, who can give his few leisure hours to fields of usefulness beyond his immediate duty ; and who, without neglecting the European penitent, can aspire to the further extension of Christ’s kingdom among the heathen ; to such a man as Martyn was, and as some still are, (whom may the Lord of the harvest long continue to his church !) I can promise no common usefulness and enjoyment in the situation of an Indian chaplain.

‘ I can promise him, in any station to which he may be assigned, an educated society and an audience peculiarly qualified to exercise and strengthen his powers of argument and eloquence. I can promise him, generally speaking, the favor of his superiors, the friendship of his equals, and affection, strong as death, from those whose wanderings he corrects, whose distresses he consoles, and by whose sick and dying bed he stands as a ministering angel ! Are further inducements needful ? I yet can promise more. I can promise to such a man the esteem, the regard, the veneration of the surrounding Gentiles ; the consolation, at least, of having removed from their minds, by his blameless life and winning manners, some of the most inveterate and most injurious prejudices which oppose, with them, the reception of the gospel ; and the honor, it may be, (of which examples are not wanting among you,) of planting the cross of Christ in the wilderness of a heathen heart, and extending the frontiers of the visible church amid the hills of darkness and the strong holds of error and idolatry.’ pp. 7-10.

After some advice to the clergy of his diocese, the Bishop then turns from them to address the missionaries who were present.

‘ Thus far, my reverend brethren, I have addressed myself to those of your number who may be regarded in a peculiar degree as the parochial and beneficed clergy of British India ; but there are others not comprehended under this description, and it is with no common thankfulness to God, that I see the episcopal chair of Calcutta now first surrounded by those who are missionaries themselves, as well as by those who are engaged in the important office of educating youth for the future services of missions.

‘ To the importance of that service no Christian can be insensible ; and I regard as one among the most favorable signs of the present times, that, while Providence has, in a manner visible, and almost miraculous, prepared a highway in the wilderness of the world for the progress of His truth, and made the ambition, the commerce, the curiosity, and enterprise of mankind, his implements in opening a more effectual door to His gospel, the call thus given has been answered by a display of zeal unexampled at any time since the period of the reformation ; and America and England have united with Denmark and Germany to send forth a host of valiant and victorious confessors, to bear the banner of the cross through those regions where darkness and death have hitherto spread their broadest shadows.’

pp. 13, 14.

He then adverts in severe terms, perhaps too severe, to the discouraging representations made by some Catholic missionary, who, we suppose, can be no other than the Abbé Dubois. We will only stop at this portion of the charge, to transcribe a figure of poetry which strikes us as sublime. ‘ What other spirit,’ indignantly exclaims the Bishop, meaning the spirit of religious party, ‘ could have led a christian missionary to disparage the success of the different Protestant missions ; to detract from the numbers, and vilify the good name of *that ancient Syrian Church, whose flame, like the more sacred fire of Horeb, sheds its lonely and awful brightness over the woods and mountains of Malabar.*’

To the misrepresentations, as he considers them, of the Abbé, our author opposes his own experience ; and here again he is poetical and eloquent.

‘ My own experience in India is, I own, as yet but little ; but the conclusions which I have been led to form are of an extremely different character. I have found, or seemed to myself to

find, a race of men, like other men who are not partakers in the regenerating principle of the gospel, very far gone, indeed, from God and His original righteousness; but exempt perhaps, by the fortunate circumstances of their climate and habits, from some of those more outrageous and appalling vices of which so dreadful a picture is drawn in those nations to whom the apostles preached Christ crucified.

'I have found a race of gentle and temperate habits; with a natural talent and acuteness beyond the ordinary level of mankind, and with a thirst for general knowledge which even the renowned and inquisitive Athenians can hardly have surpassed or equalled. Prejudiced, indeed, they are, in favor of their ancient superstitions; nor should I think, to say the truth, more favorably of the character, or augur more happily of the eventual conversion and perseverance of any man or set of men, whom a light consideration would stir from their paternal creed, or who received the word of truth without cautious and patient inquiry. But I am yet to learn, that the idolatry which surrounds us is more enthralling in its influence on the human mind than those beautiful phantoms and honied sorceries which lurked beneath the laurels of Delos and Daphne, and floated on the clouds of Olympus. I am not yet convinced that the miserable bondage of castes, and the consequences of breaking that bondage, are more grievous to be endured by the modern Indian than those ghastly and countless shapes of death which beset the path of the Roman convert. And who shall make me believe, that the same word of the Most High, which consigned to the moles and the bats the idols of Chaldee and Babylon, and dragged down the lying father of gods and men from his own capitol, and the battlements of his "Eternal City," must yet arrest its victorious wheels on the banks of the Indus or the Ganges, and admit the trident of Siva to share, with the Cross, a divided empire?'

pp. 18, 19.

The convictions of Bishop Heber with regard to the number of converts made to Protestant Christianity, may be gathered from the following paragraph, though we regret that he did not descend to a more minute exhibition of particulars.

'But are no converts made to Protestant Christianity? Bear witness to the contrary the Christians of Agra, of Benares, of Buxar, of Meerut, and Chunar! Bear witness those numerous believers of our own immediate neighborhood, whom, though we differ on many, and doubtless, on very important points, I should hate myself if I could regard as any other than my brethren! Let the populous christian districts of the Carnatic and

Tanjore bear witness, where believers are not reckoned by solitary individuals, but by hundreds and by thousands ! Bear witness Ceylon, where the cross has, in a great measure, lost its reproach, and the nobles of the land are gradually assuming without scruple the attire, the language, and the religion of Englishmen ! And let him, finally, bear witness whom we have now received into the number of the commissioned servants of the church, and whom, we trust, at no distant day, to send forth, in the fulness of christian authority, to make known the way of truth to those his countrymen, from whose errors he has himself been gloriously delivered ! * pp. 22, 23.

With some further advice to those whom he is addressing, an urgent recommendation of the claims of that very important institution, Bishop's College, founded by Bishop Middleton, and an affectionate notice of the recent death of Sir Christopher Puller, Chief Justice of Bengal, our author concludes his interesting charge.

The only sermon in the volume which is expressly devoted to the subject of the conversion of the heathen, is the eleventh in order, and was preached, as it appears, at Bombay, at Colombo, and at Calcutta. Here again we must content ourselves with general views, as details are not given. The arguments in favor of exertion in propagating the gospel, are able, though not original, and the objections commonly advanced against such exertion are well confuted. But we have already made such copious extracts from this volume, that we must confine ourselves to a single one from this sermon, which we select on account of its being a brief exposition of the alleged principles of action of the English Church in India, and of its success and prospects of success in its evangelizing labors.

‘ To the plea of political danger I must not be supposed insensible. We have no right, as Christians, to attempt a good work in a manner which is likely to be attended with an immediate and preponderant evil ; we are bound, as christian subjects and citizens, so to temper our zeal with discretion, as not to disturb the peace of the land wherein we dwell, and the government from whom we receive protection. And even setting aside all secular considerations and secular duties, we shall err most grossly against that pure and peaceable wisdom, whereby only we can attain the conversion of the heathen, if we assail

* The individual here noticed, was a catechist of Schwartz, Christian David, of Tanjore.

their errors with any other weapon than mild and courteous and unobtrusive argument, or do anything which can array their angry passions against those opinions which we seek to recommend to their acceptance.

‘But in the system which only has been tried by the members of our communion, and which only, so far as my advice or authority can reach, shall ever, by God’s blessing, be attempted in India; a system studiously distinguished from and unconnected with government, yet studiously kept within those limits of prudence and moderation which a wise and liberal government has prescribed; a system which, while it offers our faith to the acceptance of the heathen on the ground of its spiritual blessings, disqualifies no man, on account of his contrary opinions, from any civil or political advantage; a system which, by the communication of general instruction and general morality, imparts a knowledge and feeling which, whether they become Christians or no, must be highly valuable to them; a system which puts them in fair possession of the evidences of our creed, leaving it to themselves and their own unbiassed choice to determine between light and darkness; in such a system, so long as it is steadily adhered to, and patiently and wisely pursued, there is not, there cannot be danger.

‘They are their own learned men who are our teachers, our correctors of the press, our fellow-laborers in the work of instruction; they are their own countrymen, yea, and they themselves who are benefited by the large expenditure which our system occasions amongst them; and even our missionaries, as associating with them more, and speaking their language better, and occupying themselves with their concerns and the promotion of their real or apprehended interests, are, (I have reason to believe, by what I have myself seen and heard in no inconsiderable part of India,) among the most popular Europeans who are to be found in their respective neighbourhoods. Yea, more, I have had the happiness of witnessing, both in the number of converts which have already been made in Hindustan, in the general good conduct of those converts, and in the good terms on which they in general appear to live with their gentile neighbours, both how much good may be done, and how little offence will be occasioned by a course of well-meant and well-directed efforts to enlighten the inhabitants of India.’ pp. 194–196.

We have now placed before our readers the amount of Bishop Heber’s evidence on the condition and prospects of Christianity in India, so far as we have been able to collect it from the volumes before us. His opinions are, to be sure, the opinions

of an individual, but of an individual whose station furnished him with unusual opportunities of knowledge, and whose mind and character entitle his opinions to additional respect and attention. We must remark, too, that however small may be the reverence which we are disposed to offer to the mere name and office of bishop, we are compelled to believe that it is a dignity of great importance to the interests of the English Church, and of the church universal, in India. What we, as Independent Congregationalists, do or do not reverence, is of little moment. So long as the episcopal title carries with it respect and honor in England, so long will an Indian bishop be able to render immense service to the christian cause, by his connexions with men of wealth and rank, by the appeals which he can with a degree of authority make to such men, and by the power which his office gives him of rallying round him and his purposes, a body of respectful and devoted clergy; especially when, like Heber, he is not only a bishop, but an accomplished scholar, a man of sense, zeal, and piety, and, to say all in one word, a Christian.

Jas. Walcott.

ART. VI.—*A Roland for an Oliver. Letters on Religious Persecution; proving, that that most heinous of Crimes, has not been peculiar to Roman Catholics; but that when they had the Power, Protestants of almost every Denomination have been equally guilty; and that, particularly in England, for one hundred and fifty Years, it was perpetrated in its most hideous Forms of Hanging—Cutting down alive—Scooping out the Bowels—Burning them before the Face of the Victim—Chopping off his Head, and Cutting his Body in Quarters, while the Flesh was still quivering under the Butcher's Knife; and finally, in many cases Burning the unfortunate Religionist alive. In Reply to a libellous Attack on the Roman Catholics, in an Address delivered to a Society of Irish Orange Men, styling themselves The Gideonite Society. With a Preliminary Address to the Right Reverend James Kemp, D. D. &c. &c. By a CATHOLIC LAYMAN. Third Edition, improved. Philadelphia. Bernard Dornin. 1826. 8vo. pp. 51.*

IN reading the history of the church we find that almost every sect, on coming into power, has resorted to measures which it

condemned as oppressive and tyrannical, when out of power. Hence hasty and superficial reasoners have sometimes inferred, that abuse of power is a vice to which all sects are equally prone; and consequently, that it matters not, so far as liberty and toleration are concerned, which of these sects is in the ascendant;—Catholic or Protestant, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Trinitarian or Unitarian—there is no difference.

A more careful and thorough examination of this subject will convince us, however, that there is a material difference. Of course, we do not deny, that abuse of power is a vice to which all sects are liable; but we deny, that it is one to which all sects are equally liable. Some sects are more tempted than others; some sects are more restrained than others. We can demonstrate, for example, that the Liberal or Unitarian party, as now constituted in New England, is less likely to abuse the power and influence it may gain, than the Exclusive or Orthodox party.

In the first place, those who believe less, are not likely to injure or persecute those who believe more, except sometimes for political reasons. History informs us that it has always been those who have trenched on the popular faith, and not those who have added to it, that have incurred the heaviest penalties. It is not difficult to account for this. If my neighbour believes more than I do, I wonder at his credulity; perhaps I pity it, or deride it, and this is all. My pride is not wounded by the comparison, but flattered, as the only impression left on my mind is an impression of my own superiority. But if my neighbour believes less than I do, it makes me angry. He seems to set himself up as a wiser man than I am, as able to see the folly and absurdity of opinions and institutions which I regard as true and sacred. My pride is mortified, and this creates in me a strong desire to put down such arrogance. These remarks apply to the controversy between the Unitarians and the Orthodox. Unitarians may wonder at the credulity of the Orthodox, perhaps they may pity it, and the less serious among them may ridicule it; but they are not likely to do anything more. On the contrary, the Orthodox, if they are men, must feel mortified and exasperated at the presence of a sect affecting greater refinement and liberality, and it is not in human nature that they should not wish its extirpation.

Secondly, Unitarians do not pretend to that degree of confidence and certainty in their opinions, which the Orthodox feel,

or affect. If confidence were in all cases the result of inquiry, and exactly in proportion to knowledge, a party might well be proud of the distinction. The truth is, however, that great confidence on debatable points is commonly owing to a want of inquiry; to ignorance or incapacity. Men do not feel objections, because they have never examined them; because they choose to shut their eyes upon them; because they have not penetration enough to discern and estimate them; because they have been taught to hear and read only on one side. It is the confidence of the sluggard mentioned by Solomon, 'wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason.' Besides, we hold that all true liberality is founded in a proper distrust of our own judgment; in a practical sense of our fallibility on all subjects, and particularly on those respecting which wise and good men have always differed. Take any other ground, and the worst atrocities which have ever been committed under the name of religion, would be capable of at least a plausible vindication. There are those who think that dissent from the popular faith, when carried beyond a certain limit, becomes as culpable in the eye of God, and in the end as destructive of social order and happiness, as libertinism or open profligacy. This, we must suppose, is their honest belief; and if they have a right to look on this, not as an opinion merely, but as certainty, it would seem that they are justified in calling on the government to interfere. Now that Unitarians pretend to less confidence and certainty in regard to controverted doctrines than the Orthodox, is not denied; nay, it is often charged upon them as a radical defect, to which most of their alleged indifference and lukewarmness is to be imputed. Whether this indifference and lukewarmness really exists, and if so, whether it is to be ascribed to the cause here named, it does not fall within our present purpose to inquire. One thing, however, is certain; that those who are most alive to the real difficulties of the subject, and their own fallibility, as by admission Unitarians are, will be most likely to be liberal and tolerant toward those who speculate differently.

Thirdly, Unitarians do not presume, like many among the Orthodox, to represent their peculiar opinions, and the leading measures of their party, as proceeding immediately from divine impulse, or divine illumination. We believe, to be sure, that 'every good gift, and every perfect gift, is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights.' Whatever truth we

discover, and whatever good we do, are to be traced more or less directly to God, the fountain of all intelligence and energy. But while the question still remains to be determined, what is true, or what is good, we dare not throw over the uncertain, perhaps the vain and crude speculations of man, the pretended sanction of divine authority. To us, we confess, it seems the height of presumption, a presumption from which we instinctively recoil, that a knot of frail and erring men should think to pass off their shortsighted counsels, their ambitious projects, and all their pitiful manoeuvring, as the Almighty's work. Unitarians can never be guilty of this, consistently with their principles; and they are, therefore, saved from one temptation to usurpation and intolerance, to which the Orthodox are peculiarly exposed. When men begin by presuming that they are acting from a divine impulse, they are very likely to be betrayed into excesses which they would not dare to commit, which they would rather die than commit, on their own motion, or at the instance of a fellow mortal. This must certainly hold true, if, like many among the Orthodox, they not only presume that they are acting from a divine impulse, but that the same thing is perfectly right and even merciful in God, which, in a man, all would pronounce oppressive, unrighteous, and cruel. Let a man, in the first place, unsettle his notions respecting the morality of the divine character, and then imagine himself as but acting out the divine behests, and he has a plea for any measure, which party spirit or an infatuated zeal may prompt.

Fourthly, Liberal Christians do not put so much stress on mere differences of opinion as Exclusionists. They do not hold, as has been sometimes said, that it is no matter what a man believes; for, it is obvious, that some opinions are much more favorable to virtue and piety than others. Their doctrine is, that if men are really virtuous and pious, it is not essential with what convictions, or under what circumstances they have become so. Nay, minds are so differently constituted, and so differently developed, that one set of opinions may be the best for me, and another set of opinions may be the best for my neighbour; and this is probably the final cause, which induces Providence to permit such a diversity of belief among men. If, moreover, as is generally thought by Liberal Christians, belief is an involuntary state of the mind, it follows, that to punish a man for an erroneous belief, simply considered, would be just as absurd as to punish him for the gout or scrofula. Exclu-

sionists, on the contrary, maintain, that errors in opinion are as much a ground of blame and punishment, as errors in conduct; that if a man's errors in opinion amount to a rejection of any one of those doctrines deemed by them fundamental, his virtue and piety become an outside show; and that if he dies in this state of mind, he must without doubt perish everlastingly. Now it is foreign to our purpose to inquire, which of these two systems is the true one, which is most accordant with just conceptions of the divine character, which harmonizes best with the spirit and letter of the New Testament. We simply ask, Which of these two systems is most likely to make a man truly liberal and tolerant toward other sects? With the views entertained by the Liberal Christian, as given above, we contend, that it is not in human nature, that he should be tempted, as much as the Exclusionist, to abuse the power he may gain over persons of different persuasions.

Fifthly, Liberal Christians do not, like Exclusionists, regard their opponents as the enemies of God, and the objects of his fierce displeasure. We believe that all mankind are equally the objects, not indeed of the divine complacency, but of the divine benevolence. We believe, that the love which God feels for the most abandoned of our race, resembles that which a parent feels for a wayward and thankless child; often the deepest, and tenderest, and perhaps the most inexplicable feeling in nature. Where men are merely in error, if they are honest in the error, and have purposely omitted no means of correcting it, we believe that their error, simply considered, will not so much as disturb the divine complacency. Their sincerity will atone for their mistakes. Such are our convictions; and let them be true or false, how different must be our feelings towards an opponent from those of an Exclusionist, who accustoms himself to look on the proscribed sect as the enemies of God; emphatically as 'the enemy.' One of the fanatical preachers in Cromwell's time, after exhausting his copious vocabulary of abuse on kings, popes, and prelates, suddenly paused and said, 'But I shall be told that the bible requires us to love our enemies. So it does—*our* enemies, but not the enemies of God.' This distinction an Exclusionist can hardly avoid making, and weak and fallacious as it is, it is one which will be likely to reconcile him to almost any infringement of the great law of charity. Besides, his system represents God himself as burning with indignation against the unconscious misbeliever. Can we expect, therefore, in the

sharp competitions to which religious differences give rise, that a frail man should put on a gender spirit toward the rival sect than that with which he supposes it to be regarded by the Deity? Most persons will think themselves at liberty, if not under obligation, to hate whatever they believe God hates.

Sixthly, the peculiar tastes and prevailing biases of the Unitarians, as a sect, must make a man less inclined to severe measures in religion, than those of the Orthodox. Two men may be equally conscientious, and yet differ widely in their moral tastes, and in the comparative estimate which they set on different virtues. That Unitarians differ from the Orthodox in these respects, is so much a matter of daily observation, and the outward signs of this difference are so notorious, that we can often determine to which sect a man belongs by his looks, tone, and gait. The former incline to the amiable and pacific virtues, the latter to the stern and self-denying virtues. Now it is not necessary to the argument to ascertain which of these moral biases is, on the whole, to be preferred; for however this question may be decided, it is clear, that those who are distinguished, as a sect, for the amiable and pacific virtues, must for this very reason be peculiarly averse to severe measures. Ascribe the peculiar moral biases of the Unitarian to his indifference or latitudinarianism, and still it will follow that the same cause must make him peculiarly averse to everything like intolerance and persecution. On the other hand, ascribe the sternness and rigor of the Orthodox to conscience, or a regard to principle, and it will still follow that the same cause must be likely to make them stern and rigid in their policy toward those whom they believe in fatal error. The man who has forsworn lenity and a spirit of compromise on all subjects, no matter for what reason, can hardly be expected to practise these virtues toward those, against whom, besides regarding them as the propagators of a pestilent heresy, he has become embittered and incensed by the natural effects of controversy, and party collisions, and jealousies. Orthodoxy, it is said, promotes a spirit of martyrdom. Perhaps it does, if by a spirit of martyrdom is understood a willingness to lay down one's own life on the same principle, which, under a change of circumstances, would lead him to take the life of another.

Seventhly, the contemplation of the divine character as represented by Unitarianism is more likely to prevent intolerance and persecution, than the contemplation of this character as represented by Orthodoxy. 'Every man,' said Mirabeau,

‘manufactures his own God.’ We are shocked, and not without reason, at the flippant and profane air of this apothegm ; but there is a sense, in which it is founded in truth. Every man is supposed to clothe the Deity in those attributes which constitute his *beau ideal* of moral excellence ; and of course his conceptions of the divine character will vary, other things being equal, according to the degree in which his own moral sentiments have been elevated and refined. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to compare a child’s notions of God with a man’s ; or a very ignorant person’s notions of God with a philosopher’s ; and the remark holds true, whether they profess to derive these notions from the scriptures, or the light of nature. Unfortunately, however, it sometimes happens that notions of God conceived in a comparatively rude age, and corresponding to this rudeness, are incorporated into creeds, and thus transmitted, and continue to be the popular faith, long after the moral sentiments of mankind on all other subjects have been greatly improved. In such cases, it is true, a struggle is commonly kept up between the juster sentiments on moral subjects which have begun to prevail, and the old creed, and in this way the creed will be considerably modified, at least in its practical effects ; but, so long as it has any effect, it must serve to keep alive, in some degree, the harsh passions and stern policy congenial only to a ruder state of society. This is one of the most serious objections to Orthodoxy, which derives what is peculiar in its representations of God, not from his word or works, but from the rude morality and bewildering metaphysics of the dark ages. Now we say that the habit of hearing and contemplating such representations of the Divinity, must have a tendency to perpetuate, in some of its thousand forms, the intolerant and persecuting spirit, which was universal when these representations were first given, and to which they were accommodated, and with which alone they harmonize. The history of Paganism shows how apt the worshipper is to become assimilated to the character, good or bad, with which he clothes the object of his devotions. Among Christians, therefore, the sect which worships an implacable God, or a God who can only be appeased by blood, can hardly be expected to cultivate with much assiduity or success a spirit of forbearance and charity. It is the distinction of Unitarians, that their views of God have kept pace with the civilization and refinement of the human mind ; and hence they are now accustomed to dwell almost exclusively on his parental character, resolving all his attributes into

benevolence, and making this his sole spring of action. Now without going at all into the question whether these views are correct in themselves, or salutary in their practical influence in other respects, it is self-evident that their tendency, compared with that of Orthodoxy, must be to make those who hold them, and are continually hearing and contemplating them, more mild and catholic, and of course less likely to abuse power.

Eighthly, the more consistent Unitarians are, the more liberal they must be ; but the more consistent the Orthodox are, the more intolerant they must be. We do not pretend that all Unitarians are consistent ; but if they were, enough has been said of their principles to show, that they could not be guilty of usurpation and oppression in the church. Unitarians are as likely to be consistent as other men ; and besides, as they are forever inculcating liberality, and as this is manifestly the inference from all their doctrines, they cannot but carry some of this liberality into their conduct, if from no better reason, for very shame. This cannot be asserted of those whose principles themselves are avowedly exclusive. The man, whose system represents sincerity as nothing, unless accompanied by an orthodox faith, and denounces the pretended virtues of the supposed misbeliever as false and hollow, and holds him up to view as spreading a moral taint through the community, 'soul-destroying' and 'hell-deserving,' cannot, if he would be consistent, keep any terms with the offender, without seeming to participate in the guilt of soul-murder. The man who thinks that there can be no genuine virtue or piety, and no salvation, out of the pale of his own communion, or a certain number of communions agreeing with him in what he calls fundamentals, and who regards this, not as an opinion merely, but as an established certainty, cannot be tolerant, as it would seem, without being inconsistent. It is true, there are natural feelings, hardly ever entirely extirpated, which must plead trumpet-tongued, against the tendencies of such a creed, and not always without effect. In a case like this, however, the man is candid and liberal, not because of his peculiar belief, but in spite of it. On the whole, then, it appears that a consistent Unitarian is what we should most desire, and a consistent Exclusionist what we should most dread.

Ninthly, it is a mistake to suppose, that the progress of civilization and refinement has neutralized the intolerant and persecuting tendencies of all creeds. We live in milder and more quiet times, it is true ; but this only changes the forms under

which intolerance displays itself, without however extinguishing the vice. It should be recollected, in all our reasonings on this subject, that intolerance is not an error merely, but a crying sin, like drunkenness, or sacrilege. There is an unaccountable apathy in the public mind in regard to the full amount and enormity of those sins which originate in false religions, and do so much to sear the conscience, and pervert and indurate the heart, no matter whether these false religions consist in abuses of reason or revelation. Intolerance, to be sure, is obliged to evince itself differently in different states of society, under forms more or less glaring and atrocious; but still the vice itself remains substantially the same, about as culpable and injurious under one form as another, and therefore about as much to be feared and shunned. A profligate man is constrained to consult more decent ways of gratifying his propensities in a refined and cultivated community; but still he is a profligate man. So it is with the bigot, and so it is with those doctrines which encourage and foster bigotry.

Tenthly, supposing Unitarians to become the majority in any place, and to gain all that they ask or wish, it can hardly follow, in the nature of things, that the minority should be oppressed. It is commonly said of Unitarianism, even by those who reject it, that it is very well as far as it goes. Certainly it can be no very great hardship for any man to join in doxologies taken from the scriptures, instead of those taken from the catechism. It can be no very great hardship for any man to listen to serious and practical preaching, in which no one's sincerity or religious character is impeached, even though his own peculiar sentiments are not inculcated. It can be no very great hardship for any man, if he is permitted and invited himself to come to the christian ordinances, even though he should be obliged to sit down among brethren of different persuasions. If anything like peace is ever reestablished in the church, if a plan of accommodation and comprehension is ever carried into effect, it must be by adopting substantially Unitarian principles as the basis of public worship, leaving every individual to supply what he may conceive to be the defects of it, in his own thoughts, in his reading, and in his private devotions. On the contrary, it is sometimes expected, we know, that Unitarians, even where they are the majority, will continue to support the preaching by which they are denounced, and religious institutions from which they are systematically and avowedly debarred. True, they are told for their

consolation, that these are high matters, on which they are not competent to be their own guides, and must submit to be led, if not ridden, by others. In one word, Unitarians must compromise everything, the Orthodox nothing. Certainly this is a little too much to expect from mortal men. Charity, as it has been justly said, is not a fool.

Eleventhly, there are some exertions of power on the part of Unitarians, which can be defended and justified, though they may sometimes cross the ambitious schemes of other religionists. Unitarians are at liberty to assert whatever rights are guaranteed to them by the laws as Christians. They have a right to demand that their feelings and professions should be respected to the same extent in which the feelings and professions of their opponents are respected. A man's piety is as much a part of his character as his honesty, and he has a right, therefore, to resent an impeachment of the former, in any way, in which it would be proper to resent an impeachment of the latter. If he has reason to believe that a candidate for office will carry exclusive or intolerant principles into any post of influence or authority, he has a right, nay, is in duty bound, to oppose him; not on the ground of a mere difference of opinion, but because he has reason to believe that the public confidence will be betrayed. If it should be said, that we require of an Exclusionist, what, by our own showing, he cannot do consistently with his principles, we can only say, that if a man is led by any cause to adopt principles which he must violate, or be guilty of manifest injustice, he ought to suffer for it rather than his neighbours. All that Unitarians ask, is, that they may meet other Christians on the ground of common rights and common privileges; and this they are justified in demanding.

Lastly, these general reasonings are sustained and corroborated by facts. It will hardly be denied that Unitarians, as a sect, in this country and in England, have always stood forth the decided and zealous advocates of civil and religious liberty. In every great controversy that has arisen, we believe without a single exception, they have arranged themselves, not always indeed on the popular side, but yet on the side of the rights of the people. Perhaps we may be asked to reconcile with the doctrines here advanced, the treatment which Francis David received from Socinus, and other Unitarians of Poland and Transylvania. The facts in this case have seldom been fairly stated. It is conceded, that the Socinians deserve censure, as there is

good reason to suppose that some of them at least consented to, if they did not advise, an appeal to the civil authority, and were for coercing silence in regard to the obnoxious dogma. The Socinians, however, are not responsible for what Blandrata did, the principal persecutor, who before this had forfeited his standing and influence with the party, by his vices, and appears to have acted in this affair solely with a view to revenge himself on the man by whom his vices had been reprov'd. Besides, when the question came before the diet at Thorda, whether David should be condemned as a heretic, the Socinians, we believe to a man, voted in the negative, and the measure was not carried by them, but by the Trinitarian members of the assembly. Again, we may be referred to the conduct of the Unitarians at Geneva, as intolerant and oppressive. Here, however, as in the former case, justice requires that the facts should not be misrepresented or colored. Undoubtedly it is an evil, that the Genevan church, like that of England, should be a state establishment, and under the control of the civil power; but it is an evil for which the Calvinists are answerable, by whom it was instituted. If the Unitarians have not as yet succeeded in correcting this evil entirely, we must regret that they have not proceeded faster in the work of reform; that the prejudices fixed in the minds of a whole people, by false views of religion until lately prevalent there, should be found so difficult to eradicate. Admitting, however, that the civil authorities are ever to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, it would seem that no exercise of this power can be regarded as so excusable as that on which the Genevans have ventured. The Pastors are not prevented from expressing their own opinions freely and openly, in their sermons; but for the sake of peace they are forbidden to preach controversially on any of the great topics, respecting which the public mind, at the present day, is so much divided and excited. Those who transgress this ordinance, whether Unitarians or Trinitarians, or who do not conform to the ecclesiastical polity established by the Calvinists, are silenced. Compare this with the abuses of the same power when in the hands of Exclusionists, with the burning and drowning of Unitarians and Anabaptists, and it will be seen, how much less likely Unitarians are, even at Geneva, to resort to severe and tyrannical measures.

After what has been said, can any one doubt that Unitarians are less likely to abuse power in the church, than the Orthodox? We do not say, that they cannot abuse power, or that

they never have done it, or that they never will do it; but we say that they are not so likely to do it, and this, we conceive, is capable of absolute demonstration. We would not, however, be misunderstood. There is, we fear, in all organized bodies, more or less of a lust of domination; an occasional forgetfulness of the feelings and rights of others; a frequent confounding of a love of party with the love of truth. For these reasons, power in the hands of any sect, should be watched with extreme jealousy. We think, indeed, that Unitarians have reason for gratitude in possessing at present so little power, as in this way they are effectually protected against one of the most insidious and powerful temptations to sin. We do not wish, in the present moral condition of the world, to see the number of sects, into which the church is divided, materially lessened. We sometimes wonder that Providence should permit such a multitude of sects; and yet on further reflection we must perceive that they constitute that balance of power among the different communities, which, in the church as in the state, is a check upon each, and the security of all.

See also

ART. VII.—1. *Elements of Medical Statistics; containing the Substance of the Culstonian Lectures delivered at the Royal College of Physicians: with numerous Additions, illustrative of the comparative Salubrity, Longevity, Mortality, and Prevalence of Diseases in the principal Countries and Cities of the civilized World.* By F. BISSET HAWKINS, M. D., of Exeter College, Oxford; Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians; and Physician to the Westminster General Dispensary. London. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green. 1829. 8vo. pp. 234.

WE apprehend that the general impression among mankind has been, that the habits of refined and civilized life are unfavorable to health and longevity; that the luxuries, delicacies, and even conveniences which are now universally enjoyed by all classes of Europeans and their descendants, tend to produce effeminate constitutions and to generate diseases; that in forsaking the rough and hardy manner of life of our ancestors, we have

sacrificed health to comfort and long lives for easy ones. But the inquiries of late years have ended in showing, that no opinions could be more unfounded. It appears that well cooked and delicate food, warm and comfortable clothing, and dwellings from which the cold of the season is carefully excluded, contribute as much to physical well being, as to physical gratification; and that to lie upon the hard ground, a plank floor, or even a bed of rushes, instead of a feather bed, or a mattress, is as unhealthy as it is disagreeable.

It appears, also, that the inhabitants of civilized countries are not only of longer lives, but of more robust bodily frames than those of barbarous nations. They have absolutely more muscular strength, are capable of greater bodily exertions, and of enduring a greater degree of fatigue. This point has, we believe, always been heretofore conceded to the savage, that in physical endowments, at least, he had some compensation for his inferiority in other respects. But the general testimony of travellers and voyagers decides this question the other way. Even those tribes whose food consists almost exclusively of meat, are by no means a match for Europeans, of whose diet it constitutes but a small proportion. In some experiments made upon a large number of individuals of savage and civilized nations, by Peron, a French navigator of celebrity, it was found that the strength of the arms in the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land and New Holland, when compared with the French and English, was about as two to three. In the strength of the loins there was a still greater disproportion.

These are the general results of the science now generally denominated Medical Statistics. The work before us is an attempt to reduce all the known facts upon these subjects to as systematic a form as the nature of the case, and the present state of knowledge, will permit. It will be doubtless interesting to the general reader, to learn upon what grounds conclusions so satisfactory and agreeable have been founded. We shall therefore endeavour to condense the most important statements of Dr Hawkins into such a compass as shall enable us to present them within the limits of an article.

There seems, from the facts which have been collected, to have been a constant improvement in what is called the probability of life, and the mean life, and this improvement has more particularly taken place within a few years. By the *probable life* is understood the age to which one half of the individuals

born attain ; by the *mean life* is meant the average term of life. This number is of course procured by adding together the number of years attained by a given number of persons, and dividing them by that number.

The materials for calculations of this kind, are furnished by registers of births and deaths ; but as these have been accurately kept but in few places, we can only arrive at an approximation to the truth in the majority of instances. No documents remain to us, according to Dr Hawkins, from the Greeks, and but few from the Romans. These few, however, are of some value. We are told, that, in the reign of Vespasian, in a small tract of country, fiftyfour persons were enumerated who had attained their hundredth year, forty were found between one hundred and one hundred and forty, and two had reached one hundred and fifty. This statement indicates a degree of longevity far beyond anything in modern times, unless we give credit to some accounts which have been given of the length to which life is often extended in Russia. It is probable, however, that implicit reliance is not to be placed on either of these statements. Common report was probably the authority in each instance ; and we well know how much the age of those who have outlived their own cotemporaries, and were old when the present generation came upon the stage, is always magnified. We have the more reason for doubting this account of the enumeration of Vespasian, which related only to a particular rural district, because in Rome itself, where accurate registers were kept by the censors, the result is so totally different. The earliest authority quoted by Dr Hawkins, upon whom reliance can be placed, is a lawyer, Domitius Ulpianus.

‘ According to him, registers of population, puberty, age, sex, disease, and death, were kept with exactness by the censors, from the time of Servius Tullius to Justinian, and comprehend a period of ten consecutive centuries. But, unfortunately, these registers embrace the citizens of Rome alone, and not that large part of the population composed of slaves. The inferences to be drawn from them relate accordingly to select, or *picked* lives, and not to the mass of society. From observations formed on one thousand years, the expectation or mean term of Roman life, has been fixed at thirty years. To make a just comparison of the value of life in Rome and in England, we must select subjects in England similarly circumstanced, of a condition relatively easy : and the result discloses an extension of life remarkably in our favor. Mr Finlayson has ascertained, from very ex-

tensive observation on the decrement of life prevailing among the nominees of the *tontines*, and other life-annuities granted by authority of Parliament, during the last forty years, that the expectation of life is above fifty years for persons thus situated, which affords our easy classes a superiority of twenty years above the Roman citizen. The expectation of life for the whole mass of Britain is at least one in fortyfive, which affords to all our classes a superiority of fifteen years above even the easy classes of the Romans. 'pp. 6, 7.

The expectation of life, or the mean term of life in Paris, among the easy classes, is near fortytwo, giving them an advantage of twelve years over the Romans. In Florence, it is the same to the whole population now, that it was to the easy classes only in Rome.

The following is a tabular view of the probability of life among the Roman citizens, compared with that stated by Finlayson with regard to the inhabitants of Great Britain, as indicated in the passage just quoted.

At 20,	the probability of life in Rome was 30,	in England 40
" 40,	" " "	20, " 29
" 50,	" " "	13, " 22
" 60,	" " "	7, " 15

At sixtyfive, the probability of life in Rome was five, and as no facts are recorded by Ulpian beyond this age, the number of individuals who exceeded it was probably not very great; whereas in modern times, according to Blumenbach, the number of those who attain to the eightyfourth year, is very considerable, whilst but a few exceed it.

After the establishment of the christian religion, its observances revived and perpetuated the registry of births and burials, and for a few centuries past they have been recorded with more or less accuracy in various cities and countries of Europe. In Geneva, where good mortuary tables have been preserved since 1560, it appears that at the time of the Reformation, half the children reached only six years of age; in the seventeenth century, the period to which half arrived, or in other words, the probability of life, was extended to eleven years and a half; in the eighteenth century to above twentyseven years. In the same city the mean or average life was in the sixteenth century only eighteen years; in the seventeenth, twentythree; in the eighteenth, thirtytwo; and at the present time it is thirtysix.

The most interesting facts, however, on this point, are those derived from various sources in relation to the different parts of Great Britain. In 1695, it appears, from calculations made upon a certain number of select lives, that the mean duration of life, *at birth*, was about thirtyseven years. In 1789 it had increased to fiftytwo years. At ten years of age it was thirtyeight in 1695; but fortyeight in 1789. At fifty, it was seventeen for the former and twentytwo for the latter period. The inference to be drawn from the improvement in this case, is not any the less valuable because the lives are picked, if we bear in mind that it is only a comparative and not an absolute inference with regard to the expectation of life.

But a corresponding change in the health and duration of life of the total mass of society has equally occurred: this is easily deducible from a comparison of the census taken every ten years. In 1780, the annual mortality of England and Wales was one in forty. In 1790, it diminished to one in fortyfive. In 1801, it continued to diminish, but not at the same rate; it became one in fortyseven. The moderate improvement of this census is the effect of the scarcity by which England was afflicted in 1795 and 1800. In 1811, the reduction in deaths proceeds: the annual amount is one in fifty, or one in fiftytwo; and finally, in 1821, the yearly mortality sinks to one in sixty, or one in fiftyeight (which last proportion Mr Rickman considers to be nearest to the truth); so that, on the whole, it has decreased from one in forty, to one in fiftyeight, nearly one-third in forty years. The mortality of the several counties in England alone, ranges between one in fortyseven and one in seventytwo; Middlesex and Sussex being the two extremes. In Wales, Pembrokeshire and Anglesey have only one death yearly in eighty-three individuals, which is the lowest genuine rate of mortality that has been published in any part of Europe. But even in Middlesex, where the rate is higher than in any other county, let us remark the change which has supervened in only ten years: in 1811, it was one in thirtysix; in 1821, eleven more lives are added, to make it one in fortyseven. The mortality of every county is mainly influenced by the proportion of large towns which it includes; thus, the mortality of Hampshire, which has several such, is one in fiftyeight; but in Sussex, where they are less numerous, it is only one in seventytwo; and in Cornwall, for a similar reason, only one in seventyone. Kent, Surrey, Lancashire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire, are the counties where, next to Middlesex, the deaths are most numerous. Kent is subject to ague; more than half the population of Surrey live within the

walls of the metropolis ; Lancashire and Warwickshire are counties which enjoy advantages from nature, but these are counterbalanced by their large manufacturing towns.

In Lincolnshire, the amount is only one in sixtytwo, although it is particularly the seat of ague ; but this moderate share of mortality is probably due to the large proportion of dry and elevated districts to the fenny ; if not to the circumstance which Dr Wells has remarked, that phthisis pulmonalis is but little observed in places infested with the exhalations which produce intermittent fever.' pp. 16, 17.

In the cities of Great Britain, the decline of mortality is still more remarkable. London, although it has regularly increased in size and extent, has at the same time become far more healthy. In the middle of the last century, the annual deaths were as one in twenty of the whole number of the inhabitants ; according to the census of the year 1821, the ratio had diminished to one in forty. In the space of seventy years, therefore, there had been an improvement in the chances of life of a hundred *per cent.* The middle of the last century seems to have been the period when the mortality was the greatest, for in 1700 it was one in twenty-five. The increase was attributed to the abuse of spirituous liquors, which was afterwards checked by an increase of duties. It is a most remarkable fact, that while the population in London has been so rapidly increasing, not only has the rate of mortality diminished, but in some years even the absolute number of deaths. In the year 1697 it was 21,000, whilst in 1797 it had fallen to 17,000, and in 1826 and 1827 had only arisen to 20,758 and 22,292. A still more remarkable improvement is recorded in regard to Manchester. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the mortality was one in twentyfive ; in 1770, one in twentyeight. In 1811 the rate had diminished to one in seventyfour, and in 1821, still further, though Dr Hawkins does not state how far. During this period, the population of the city had been more than quadrupled. This extraordinary fact, for there seems to be no doubt with regard to it, may perhaps be in some measure accounted for by the consideration, that, in large manufacturing towns, particularly those whose business increases with great rapidity, there is a larger proportional increase of adults than of infants, and consequently that the number of that class of inhabitants out of which the largest amount of deaths in cities takes place, is proportionally less than that of any other class. In Liverpool and Birmingham, a considerable, though by no means an

equal improvement took place in the interval from 1811 to 1821 ; in Liverpool, from one in thirty to one in forty ; in Birmingham, from one in thirtyfour to one in fortythree.

A similar improvement in the value of life has taken place all over Great Britain, and also in every part of Europe, but nowhere, according to Dr Hawkins, to so great an extent as in Great Britain. The following table exhibits a view of the rate of mortality in some of the principal countries and cities of Europe, at the present time ; and a statement is also annexed of the rate at some preceding period, in those cases where our knowledge permitted it.

Countries.	Present rate.			Former rate.		
Great Britain	-	-	1 in 60	-	-	1 in 40, in 1780
France	-	-	1 " 40	-	-	1 " 29, " 1781
Pays de Vaud	-	-	1 " 49	-	-	1 " 35, " 1755
Sweden	-	-	1 " 48	-	-	1 " 23, " 1750
Holland	-	-	1 " 48	-	-	
Prussia	-	-	1 " 35	-	-	
Russia	-	-	1 " 41	-	-	
Venetian Provinces	-	-	1 " 28	-	-	
Two Sicilies	-	-	1 " 32	-	-	
United States (Bristed)	-	-	1 " 40	-	-	
New Spain (Humboldt)	-	-	1 " 30	-	-	
Cities.						
London	-	-	1 " 40	-	-	1 " 20, " 1750
Paris	-	-	1 " 32	-	-	1 " 25, " do.
Berlin	-	-	1 " 34	-	-	1 " 28, " 1755
Glasgow	-	-	1 " 44, 41	-	-	
Manchester	-	-	1 " 74	-	-	1 " 25, " 1750
Liverpool	-	-	1 " 40	-	-	1 " 30, " 1811
Birmingham	-	-	1 " 43	-	-	1 " 34, " do.
St Petersburg	-	-	1 " 37	-	-	
Vienna	-	-	1 " 22½	-	-	1 " 20, " 1750
Prague	-	-	1 " 24½	-	-	
Palermo	-	-	1 " 31	-	-	
Leghorn	-	-	1 " 35	-	-	
Rome	-	-	1 " 24½	-	-	
Naples	-	-	1 " 28	-	-	
Amsterdam	-	-	1 " 24	-	-	1 " 27, " 1777
Madrid	-	-	1 " 29	-	-	
New York	-	-	1 " 35	-	-	
Philadelphia *	-	-	1 " 31	-	-	
Baltimore	-	-	1 " 36	-	-	
Boston	-	-	1 " 49	-	-	1 " 32, " 1821

* This is the statement of Dr Hawkins, derived from a publication of Drs Niles and Russ, on the comparative mortality of the American cities. In a valuable article on the Medical Statistics of Philadelphia in the 1st No. of the American Journal of the Medical Sciences, by George Emerson, M. D., it is shown that the rate of mortality among the entire population of Philadelphia is only 1 in 50·8. The rate in Boston has been regularly diminishing for several years past, and in the year 1827 had fallen to 1 in 62·87. It is probable that the calculations relied on by Dr Hawkins for the rate of mortality in the whole United States, were made from very imperfect data.

An improvement has also taken place in the rate of mortality in hospitals. The facts upon which a comparative estimate of the present and the past may be founded, are few, but they are sufficient to show that the same causes which have improved the chance of life among mankind in general, have not failed to have an influence upon the inmates of hospitals. In 1685, it appears that the annual mortality in St Thomas and Bartholomew's Hospitals, in London, was in the proportion of one to seven. In St Thomas Hospital alone, it was, in 1689, one in ten; and in 1741, the same. From 1773 to 1793, it fell to one in fourteen. After this period, some improvements were made in the internal arrangements of the institution, which contributed both to cleanliness and ventilation, and during the ten subsequent years, the rate was less than one in fifteen, and in 1813 had fallen to one in sixteen. A similar improvement, but less in degree, has taken place in other hospitals in London. In the Dublin Fever Hospital, the mortality had diminished in eleven years, from 1804 to 1815, from one in twelve to one in twenty.

In the Paris hospitals, particularly in the Hôtel Dieu, the proportion of deaths was fearfully great during a part of the last century, amounting to no less than a quarter of all who were admitted. This circumstance was no doubt owing to the very crowded state of the institution, and to its bad management. So bad indeed were its regulations, that we are told, by a writer who had visited it, that he had often seen on the same bed, a dead body lying by the side of two dying patients, and one convalescent. The present rate of mortality is about one in six and four fifths in the Hôtel Dieu. It is higher in some and lower in others of the same city. The following table will afford a comparative view, sufficiently extensive, of the rate of mortality in the principal hospitals of Europe. It is derived from a volume on Public Charity in France, by Dr Johnson, on whose results we are inclined to place more dependence as to this particular subject than on those of Dr Hawkins, as they seem to have been more the result of actual personal inquiry.

‘ St Petersburg the } mortality is as }		1 in 5. 55	Lyons	1 “ 8. 40
Barcelona	1 “	6. 02	Paris (Pitié)	1 “ 8. 92
Berlin	1 “	6. 50	Turin	1 “ 9. 03
Paris (Charité)	1 “	6. 66	Strasbourg	1 “ 9. 37
Aix, in Provence	1 “	7. 04	Edinburgh	1 “ 10. 08
Leghorn	1 “	7. 50	Pavia	1 “ 10. 90
Paris (Hôtel Dieu)	1 “	7. 76	Glasgow	1 “ 11. 73
Palermo	1 “	8. 33		

To these we add the following, as indicating the effect produced by situation and by the character and condition of the inmates, upon the relative deaths.

'Bath	1 in 18	London, St Thomas	1 in 18
Pays de Vaud	1 " 21	" St George	1 " 9
Prussian Military Hospital	1 " 85	Heidelberg	1 " 21
Russian Hospitals for Sick Poor	1 " 4½		

The remarkable variations in the comparative mortality of these several hospitals, may be almost always traced to some sufficient cause. It will be observed that in those of the larger cities it is not very far from the same; whilst in towns of the second or third rate in point of size, it becomes very much less. The same cases which are fatal in London or Paris, recover in Bath, or Heidelberg, or Pays de Vaud. This difference depends upon the superior ventilation and freedom of circulation and consequent purity of the air, in the smaller towns. A difference arises also from the character of the inmates. Thus, where soldiers form a part of the population of a hospital, the mortality is always observed to be small, as in the remarkable case of the Prussian Military Hospital, where the mortality among the sick was less than that among the inhabitants of the country at large, throughout the year. This arises from the circumstance that these are, in a certain sense, picked or select lives; that is, individuals selected of that age at which the proportion of mortality is the least. Another circumstance which influences the mortality of hospitals, is, the exclusion of certain classes of patients. Thus there are some kinds of disease, from which death rarely occurs, such as cutaneous diseases. There are other kinds which are in their nature very frequently or even necessarily mortal; such as dropsies, consumptions, diseases of the heart, &c. A hospital which admitted the former and excluded the latter, would have a low rate of mortality, and *vice versa*. Thus, too, a hospital for the sick poor alone, like that of St Petersburg, will be filled with worse subjects for disease, and worse cases, than one which admits indiscriminately from all classes. In general the same causes affect the mortality of hospitals, which regulate the mortality of cities and countries. The medical treatment, properly speaking, probably contributes but little to the variation of mortality. According to Dr Hawkins, 'mortality is *seldom* to be assigned to the influence of bad practice, which, probably, does not often *destroy* life. An accomplished friend made particular notes on the comparative

mortality under three physicians in the same hospital; one was *expectant*, one *tonic*, the other *eclectic*. The mortality was the same, but the length of the disorder, the character of the convalescence, and the chances of relapse were very different.'

The state of lying-in hospitals equally demonstrates the improvement which has taken place in late years. In the year 1750, one female out of fortytwo died in the British Lying-in Hospital in London, and one child out of fifteen. In 1780, the proportion for the mothers was one in sixty, and for the children one in fortyfour. From 1790 to 1800, it was respectively one in two hundred and eightyeight, and one in seventyseven. The improvement in this case is very great, and few institutions of the kind can boast of so remarkable a degree of success, even at the present day, the average mortality in Great Britain being about one in one hundred.

In the continental hospitals of this class, although there has been an evident improvement, the mortality is still very great when compared with that in Great Britain. In the Hôtel Dieu in Paris, in the middle of the last century, the deaths were one in fifteen, these subjects being then admitted into that Hospital. In 1822, in the hospital devoted exclusively to their reception, the deaths were one in thirty. In Stockholm, the mortality is one in twentynine. In Berlin, there has been an improvement from one in thirtytwo, in 1796-1806, to one in fortytwo, in 1807-1817.

But the most remarkable, and upon the whole, the most important improvement in late years, has taken place with regard to the mortality of children; and what is very satisfactory, is, that the improvement in this particular can be directly traced to improvements in nursing, clothing, feeding, and other circumstances in their physical management. The observations from which this inference has been drawn, have been chiefly made upon the inmates of foundling hospitals, a kind of institution from which, as we believe, our country is yet happily free, and which there is reason to apprehend, is not more the consequence than the cause of licentiousness among the lower classes of society in the countries where it exists.

In selecting facts with regard to these hospitals, and with regard to the mortality of children in general, we are not always able to present a comparative statement with regard to each individual case, at different periods of time. The effect, however, of improved management upon the health of children, is

not less evident from the rate of mortality in different hospitals at the same time, than from that in the same hospital at different times.

The London Foundling Hospital differs from most others, in not permitting secret or indiscriminate admissions. It therefore operates less as an encouragement to vice. Its regulations are in every respect excellent. Infants are secured in the country by means provided for the purpose, during the first years of life, and are afterwards supported in the hospital till they are provided for. During twenty years, the mortality from admission to fourteen years of age, has only been one in four.

As a striking contrast with the success which has attended good management, we find in the Dublin Hospital, the deplorable result of neglect and injudicious management. It is stated by Dr Hawkins, as the result of parliamentary inquiry, though the fact seems hardly credible even on such authority, that of ten thousand two hundred and seventytwo sick children sent to the infirmary attached to the hospital, during the twentyone years ending in 1796, fortyfive only were recovered. One cause of this lamentable mortality seems to have been the practice of spoon-feeding, and the substitution of nurses, instead of this ruinous practice, has been attended with the happiest consequences. In the year preceding June 1806, the mortality had diminished to one in four and a half.

In Paris, even at the present time, when great improvement in the management of infants is allowed to have taken place, it is ascertained, that of one thousand foundlings admitted into the hospitals, two hundred and fiftyone die during the few first days, and two hundred and thirtyfive on their way to the country nurses, or before the first year; so that at the end of the first year about one half are dead. Great as this mortality is, it is nothing compared to what it formerly was. From the year 1771 to 1777, of thirtyone thousand nine hundred and fiftyone who entered the hospital, twentyone thousand nine hundred and eightyfive, or about sixtysix *per cent.*, died during the first month; and three thousand four hundred and ninetyone, during the remainder of the first year, making after their admission, in the whole, the enormous mortality of four fifths during the first year. At the end of the seven years, only four thousand seven hundred and eleven of the whole number were alive. On the contrary, as Dr Hawkins informs us on the authority of Foderé, from the year 1789 to 1813, of one hundred and nine

thousand six hundred and fifty, received, only thirtynine thousand three hundred and thirty died. This statement, it is to be remarked, does not precisely agree with that given a few lines back, though our author does not note or account for the discrepancy. In the Foundling Hospital at Vienna, every effort formerly made to diminish the mortality, proved vain. In the average years, only twenty out of one hundred attained the age of twelve months. In the best years but thirty, and in the bad, only ten reached that period. After the introduction of vaccination, the mortality appears to have been one in two; the management in other respects remaining the same. By changing the system of nursing, and sending the infants into the country, the deaths have diminished to one in four and a half.

At Stockholm, in 1822, of five hundred and twentyfive children, one hundred and one died within the year.

In Moscow and Petersburg, in the twenty years from 1786 to 1806, of thirtyseven thousand children admitted into the hospitals, thirtyfive thousand died. In 1811-12, of five thousand two hundred and sixteen admissions, there had been only two thousand three hundred and eightysix deaths.

In the Hospital of Florence, from which infants are speedily removed into the country, the mortality is only one in ten. At Naples it is one in five. At Palermo, eighteen out of twentyfive.

These facts all relate to the state and prospects of infant life in foundling hospitals. The result of the whole is to show, that an improvement has actually taken place, and above all, to show what an immense influence care and good management is capable of having in this important particular.

It is more difficult to get at facts with regard to the mortality of infants in private life; and a few only can be recorded. In London, between the years 1728 and 1738, the number of deaths under two years of age was ten thousand; in 1800, they had gradually and pretty regularly fallen to six thousand, the whole population having in the mean time increased. In Warrington, a manufacturing town, in the nine years from 1772, the mortality among children under ten years of age, was 55·12 *per cent.* of all the deaths of the place; in the eight years subsequent to 1817, it had fallen to 44·65 *per cent.* At the same time the total mortality had fallen from 1 in 26·48, to 1 in 37·4. A similar improvement has been found in many other places.

But whilst the general mortality seems to be decreasing with the gradual improvement of the physical condition of man, there

is one malady, or rather one class of maladies, which have, upon the whole, increased with the progress of civilization and refinement; namely, those which affect the mind. The materials furnished by past observation, are not sufficient to authorise any direct comparative estimate between the present and past times, but the above inference has been drawn from the fact, that insanity seems to be most frequent in those countries which are most improved. This inference, however, cannot yet be stated decidedly, but only as a probability. It appears that in general, the number of males who become insane is greater than that of females; but that in France, the number of females is greatest, which is attributed to the circumstance, that in that country, they take a more active part in the business of life, such as keeping shops, stalls, &c., being thus more exposed to those causes which produce anxiety and agitation of mind. This view of the cause is confirmed by the fact, that, among the higher classes, where the females are not compelled to submit to these occupations, the proportion of males again preponderates. It was found, on an investigation of the subject, that of eight hundred and sixtyseven males, and one thousand three hundred and eightyfive females in the public hospitals, two hundred and eightyeight of the former owed their derangement to causes operating primarily through the bodily frame, and five hundred and seventynine to those operating on the mind; that on the other hand, of the women, one thousand and ninety-nine were deranged from physical, and only two hundred and eightysix from mental causes.

The English have been often accused of a strong propensity to commit suicide, but it is asserted by Dr Hawkins that they are less disposed to this crime than any other people who have attained a similar grade of civilization. In that part of London called Westminster, containing more than one hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, the average for thirteen years was only twentytwo, of which the males were to the females as five to two. In the whole of London and Westminster the estimated number for each year is one hundred, being less than one out of ten thousand inhabitants, and one out of two hundred deaths. 'Gloomy November' in England, so far from being the most abundant in suicides, has been more free from them than many of the other months, whilst they have occurred most frequently in June.

Other countries exhibit a larger proportion and a considera-

ble increase. In Hamburgh, for 1816, the number was only two; in 1820, it had risen to ten, and in 1823, it was fifty-nine. In Paris the proportion is about forty-nine in every one hundred thousand inhabitants, and in Berlin thirty-four. In the latter city the tendency to this crime seems to have prodigiously increased in half a century. In 1758 it was only one in eighteen hundred deaths; in 1787 one in nine hundred; in 1798 one in three hundred; and in 1822 one in one hundred. This increase is by Dr Casper attributed to drunkenness. From 1812 to 1821, a quarter of the whole number of cases were traced to this cause, and probably many more were due to it. In 1822 one house out of every four was appropriated to the vending of spirits, giving only one hundred and thirty of the population for the support of each house.

Suicide is very rare in Spain, Sweden, Russia, and Naples, if the documents for these countries are drawn from correct sources.

In New York the number varies from thirteen to twenty-nine; in Philadelphia from two to thirteen; in Baltimore from two to seven, in a year. In Boston, within the last few years, the smallest number we have noticed has been two, and the largest nine.

There are some other particulars into which the inquiries of Dr Hawkins extend, the consideration of which we shall omit, to look for a moment at the causes to which we may attribute the certain improvement which has taken place in the probabilities of life in the present age. Two results at least, seem to be clearly pointed out by the facts which have been stated; first, that the chance of life in general has become very much better throughout the civilized world within a half century, and second, that it is now very much better in some countries than in others. Both of these results tend to establish the same general principle, that our bodily state and the duration of life, are very much under the influence of the external circumstances in which we are placed, and the state of mind which is produced by these circumstances. It is interesting to inquire then, which we must do very briefly, what those circumstances are, which contribute to improve the health and lengthen the lives of particular countries and cities, and which have produced so great a change in health and life in the present century.

One of the circumstances, and that not the least important, which has contributed to this improvement, is the better phy-

sical management of children. Upon examination it is found that a considerable part of the change in bills of mortality, has taken place in regard to the deaths of young children. The frightful destruction occasioned among them during the first years of life, by the mere negation of air, cleanliness, and proper food, has been shown by some of the preceding statements. Now the system of treating nursing children, was formerly conducted upon a plan nearly as bad from principle, as exists in foundling hospitals at the present day from necessity. Confined and impure air, improper clothing, and unnatural food were then provided for the child from choice, from the belief that it would suffer from the fresh breath of heaven; the unrestrained use of its limbs, and a simple nutritious diet. Such notions, however, have been gradually losing their influence among the better informed and more intelligent classes, and although a thousand prejudices remain, which are undoubtedly pernicious in their influence, yet the change of management has been on the whole such as to produce a great change in the result.

This change has been most remarkable in cities, not perhaps because the notions of the inhabitants of cities were worse on these points than those of the country, but because in the towns, the close, confined, and impure atmosphere, the want of abundance of water, and the greater poverty of many of the inhabitants, obliging them to be satisfied with poor clothing, poor lodging, and poor food, came in aid of the prejudices which were entertained, whilst in the country everything contributed to counteract them.

The same causes which have contributed to improve the chances of life among children, have also operated to improve the health and lengthen the life of the adult portion of mankind. With the increase of civilization and refinement, changes have gradually taken place in the modes of living, very similar in their effects upon health to those which have taken place with regard to the management of children. A mechanic may live, as to food, clothes, and lodging, as well as a nobleman could, two or three centuries ago. The luxuries of the past ages, so great have been the improvements in the modes of production, have become the very necessities of life to the present; and whatever may be the bad effects of the excesses of the luxurious, the habits of great cleanliness, frequent change of clothing, free ventilation and generally wholesome food, which they introduce into society, are of incalculable advantage when

made common, and adopted by those who will imitate the good without the evil.

The great influence which is exercised by the external circumstances which we allude to, is illustrated by many facts of unquestionable authority. It is universally found that the classes in easy and comfortable circumstances, who have all the healthy habits of the rich without their excesses, and who are free from the prejudices and hardships of the poor, have the best chance of life, and furnish the smaller proportion of deaths. It is found that whatever diminishes the supply of wholesome food, whatever tends to produce a general depression of mind, whether it be a moral or a physical cause, increases the rate of mortality. A few instances will illustrate the law according to which these causes operate, better than any discussion.

In Prussia, says Dr Hawkins, during two years of high prices, 1816 and 1817, the mortality increased and the births diminished. In Venice, where the usual rate of mortality is one in twentyeight, it increased in the course of three years of scarcity, 1815, 16, 17, to nearly one in fourteen. In Milan, and in other parts of Italy, the same increase of disease and death, was observable during the same years. During the same period there was an increase at Milan, not only of the whole number of deaths, but particularly an increase in the proportion of those taking place among the poor. In Leghorn a curious difference has been observed between the mortality among the Catholic and among the Protestant and Jewish parts of the community. That of the former was one in thirtyfive, of the latter only one in fortyeight. The difference seemed to depend upon the greater affluence of the latter, and their ability to live more comfortably. In Amsterdam the ratio of mortality has increased as the city has become less prosperous. The mortality even of the various patients in the hospitals in Paris, is considerably influenced by the goodness or meanness of their condition, by the quantity of their wages and the nature of their work. Among jewellers, printers, artisans, servants, &c., employed in in-door work, the mortality is one in eleven of the sick; among sempstresses, one in eight; shoemakers, one in seven; masons, one in six; day-laborers to masons and others, one in five; rag-pickers, and other persons working or wandering about the streets, one in four; whilst among the soldiers of the guard of Paris it is only one in twentyone.

A general comparison of the mortality of the poor and rich, is

very difficult, but so far as it has been made, it goes very strongly to support the general conclusions which have been stated. In France it has been found that in the wealthy departments of the kingdom, life is on an average protracted twelve years and a half beyond the period to which it extends in those which are poor. The following statement has been presented as illustrating the influence of external circumstances on two rich and two poor departments.

'In the two rich departments scarcely one fourth of a given number of individuals die before five years of age. One half die at fortyfive, threefourths are dead at seventy.

'In the two poor departments one fourth die before completing the first year. One half between fifteen and twenty, three-fourths at fifty in one department, and before fiftyfive in the other.' p. 36.

The least mortality occurs in the departments of the Calvados of l'Orne, and de la Sarthe, it being only one in fifty, whilst in the twelfth *arrondissement* of Paris, the poorest part of the city, it is one in twentyfour. The contrast is equally great if we compare one part of the city with another. In the first *arrondissement* of Paris the rich are in the highest proportion; in the twelfth the poor. The following is a table of their deaths and population as stated by Villermé, from whom these details are taken.

Arrondissement	Inhabitants.	Deaths in Private Dwellings in				
		1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
1st.	45,854	778	787	904	863	985
12th.	66,893	1492	1679	1611	1633	1865

'But this disproportion is still further increased by the greater number of inhabitants of the poor *arrondissement* who die in the hospitals and *hospices*; and altogether Villermé concludes that where there are fifty deaths in the rich *arrondissement* there are one hundred in the poor one.' p. 58.

The mortality among the children of the poor, exceeds that of those of the rich in Paris, in a proportion as striking. The street called Mouffetard, is remarkable for the misery and privation of its inhabitants. During the first ten years of life, the proportion of deaths has been nearly twice as large in this street as in two other streets inhabited by persons in easy circumstances.

Out of a given number of deaths at home, the infants of the Mouffetard up to the age of one year, have contributed as many as all the children up to the age of ten years in the two other streets.

So great is the influence of the general state and condition of life upon the rate of mortality, that it has been found in France, that those departments are the most healthy, and furnish the smallest proportion of deaths, in which the landed property is divided among the greatest number of proprietors, and in the smallest portions. It is not difficult to conceive of the manner in which this circumstance operates. Where there are a few large landed proprietors, the greater part of the population will be indigent and dependent. Where there are, on the contrary, a large number of small proprietors, the greater part will be in moderate but independent circumstances, comfortable livers, and having a sufficiency of the essential good things of life.

In our own country the influence of condition and external circumstances, is shown in the much greater mortality among the colored population than among the white. We learn from some inquiries into the medical statistics of New York, Philadelphia, &c., by Doctors Niles and Russ, that while in New York the annual mortality among the whites is on an average one in forty, among the blacks it is one in nineteen. In Philadelphia there is the same difference. In Baltimore the state of the black population improves, the annual mortality of the whites being one in thirtynine, and that of blacks one in thirtythree; the slaves appear to enjoy a better chance for life and health, than the free blacks, their condition, both physically and morally, being probably more favorable than that of the free blacks around them, and indeed than that of the free blacks in the cities where there are no slaves. The improvidence and intemperance of this class of inhabitants, subject a large proportion of them to disease and early death.

It is impossible to go through the whole economy of life, and determine in what points modern habits have the superiority over ancient in regard to the preservation of life. We can only illustrate the subject; we cannot enter into its details. But by a single example the effect may be shown, which certain external causes have in promoting the health and prolonging the life of man. Thus, to take the state of the air in which we live as an example. It is found by modern experience to be of immense importance that it should be pure and in abundant quantity.

The chief improvements in cities and in hospitals, which have contributed to produce so great a change in the state of health in them, have consisted in the more free admission of air, and in the removal of those causes which rendered it impure.

In all hospitals the most rapid changes have succeeded to the more free ventilation of their wards. In the Hôtel Dieu of Paris, notorious for its filth and bad air, no operation for the trepan recovered for fifty years, so that the operation was laid aside, and this simply because the state of the air rendered recovery from the effects of the operation impossible. The clearing away of the buildings around, and the consequent improvement in ventilation, combined with a greater regard to cleanliness, lessened at once this remarkable mortality. It has been stated that in the hospital of Leeds no case of compound fracture or of trepan survived, till the ventilation of the wards was improved. In the Lying-in Hospital of Dublin, during four years, in a badly ventilated house, there died two thousand nine hundred and forty-four children out of seven thousand six hundred and fifty. After improved ventilation, the deaths in the same time, and in the like number, amounted only to two hundred and seventy-nine.* In general, the clearing away of the land around a hospital, attention to internal cleanliness, and the avoiding of all those causes which obstruct the free circulation of air within the walls, have always been accompanied by improvement in the rate of mortality; and not only so, but an alteration in the nature of diseases takes place, which equally indicates the extent and salutary nature of the change. Diseases in the old hospitals were of an asthenic character, indicating a prostration of the vital powers, and were little influenced by medical treatment; now they are of a more sthenic and inflammatory character, indicating more strength and vitality, and affording an opportunity for the use of remedies.

In cities, the widening of streets, the free and frequent removal of filth, and the abundant supply of water, all contribute to corresponding results. Improvement in health is not always the object directly aimed at in these changes. They are brought about gradually, as wealth increases, to gratify the demands of the rich and luxurious for new sources of comfort and convenience. But their effect is the advantage of all. It is in no small degree, probably, owing to the remarkable cleanliness of its

* Blane, *Select Dissertations*, p. 188.

streets, and the very free circulation of air secured to it by its peninsular situation, that Boston is one of the healthiest cities in the world, and nearly as much so as any part of the country surrounding it.

Something of the improved health of modern times is to be attributed to improvement in the medical art; how much it is difficult to say. On this subject we cannot do better than to quote the remarks of Dr Hawkins.

'Medical statistics affords the most convincing proofs of the efficacy of medicine; it is one of the easiest arguments that can be employed to refute the vulgar notion (and one sometimes carelessly countenanced by medical men), that nature is alone sufficient for the cure of diseases, and that art as frequently impedes as it accelerates her course. The powers of self-restoration are in no diseases more conspicuous than in fever. But if we form a statistical comparison of fever treated by art, with the results of fever consigned to the care of nature, we shall derive an indisputable conclusion in favor of our profession.* Hippocrates has left a frank and explicit statement of the history and fate of fortytwo cases of acute disease, in which it does not seem that any therapeutical plan was adopted, if we except glysters and suppositories in a few, and blood-letting in one. Amongst these were thirtyseven cases of continued fever, without local affection. Of the thirtyseven, twentyone died, above half of the whole. But if we examine the returns of the Fever Hospital of London, we find (in 1825) that the total mortality was less than one in seven; and half of these deaths occurred within seventy-two hours of the admission of the patients,—a circumstance which indicates that several entered at a period of disease when the hope of recovery was extinct. In the Dublin Fever Hospital we find a still lower mortality; the average from 1804 to 1812 was one in twelve; and in the clinical wards at Edinburgh, in 1818, the mortality of fever was also about one in twelve. Of five cases of local inflammations, which Hyppocrates records, four were fatal; of all his fortytwo patients, in short, twentyfive were lost; a termination which throws no shade over his skill, but only brings to light his love of truth. The mortality belonged to the age, and not to the physician; and we may reasonably infer, that under other practitioners of his time and country, it was even more severe. It is curious to observe, that of the five cases of local inflammation, the only one which survived was the solitary instance in which bleeding was employed,—a pleurisy.

* 'Blane, Select Dissertations.'

We perceive, that one out of two acute cases may recover by the almost unassisted efforts of nature, but that under the medical protection of our own age and country, six out of seven, or even eleven out of twelve, are likely to survive, according to the period of the disease at which they are placed under treatment.' pp. 3-5.

It is not right, however, to attribute the whole of this difference to medical treatment. In the infancy of the medical art, it is probable that only those most severely sick fell under the care of the physicians, the milder cases being left to the efforts of nature; whilst in our own times all cases of continued sickness, with but few exceptions, be they ever so mild, are entrusted to their management. It is also to be considered that among people of rude and simple habits of life, diseases, although less frequent, are more severe and mortal. Hence we may conclude that the difference between the proportion of deaths in ancient and modern practice, is due in part to other causes as well as to the superiority of the moderns in the knowledge and treatment of diseases.

It may seem at first sight a little inexplicable, that, at the same time that there is a decrease in the proportion of deaths, there should be an increase in the frequency of cases of disease, of which last fact we suppose there can be no doubt. It admits, only, perhaps, of this explanation, that the habits of eating, drinking, &c., of civilized life, produce disorders in the system, of a nature not vitally affecting the more important organs, but only so far deranging them as is consistent with a tolerable performance of the essential functions of the system; whilst at the same time these affections render the subjects of them less liable to be attacked by those graver disorders, which seize upon the vital parts, and are so frequently followed by a fatal event.

The subject of which we have been thus briefly speaking, is of no inconsiderable importance, and merits more of the attention of legislators than it has yet received. The materials for the medical statistics of our own country are peculiarly scanty, and yet by a little pains they might be made, at least with regard to our cities, tolerably abundant. The practice of making a periodical census of the whole people affords an opportunity of obtaining, with tolerable accuracy, certain elementary and pretty important facts, which it would be difficult or impossible to get at in any other way. If we could ascertain the number of births and deaths within a year, in the country as a whole, and in its several parts, we should have the elements of some

important calculations in medical statistics. This might be done with little additional labor at the time of taking the census. Thus if there were an enumeration of all the persons under one year of age, we should have the whole number of births in a year, with the exception of those who, having been born within that period, have already died. This deficiency might be supplied by making an enumeration of deaths under the different ages, and placing those under one year in a single class. By adding the number of them to that of the living children under a year, the number of births could be ascertained with sufficient accuracy. No considerable difficulty presents itself as an obstruction to this plan. Events so recent as the births and deaths of a past year, as well as the ages of those who die, must be fresh in the memories of all; and it would add but little complexity to the details which are already entered into in making the usual enumeration.

————— John Harris.

ART. VIII.—*A Discourse on the Advantages of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, as Part of a General and Professional Education, being an Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on the 28th October, 1828.* By the REV. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL. D., F. R. S., L. and E., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of London, M. R. I. A., Honorary Fellow of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, Fellow of the Astronomical Society, Honorary Member of the Society for Promoting Useful Arts in Scotland, &c. London. J. Taylor. 1828. 8vo. pp. 36.

THE opening of a new University and the commencement of a second, in the heart of the British empire, augur well for the cause of learning. Amply endowed, and wisely governed, and liberally patronised, they must grow up into establishments of the highest importance to the interests of letters. They cannot, we think, but become very different from the old Universities. Heretofore an education has been thought to consist chiefly in a knowledge of the past, in attainments that relate to what the world has been. This was very proper in an age just emerging from barbarism, and having no pretensions to a literature of its own. But the world is changed. Old things have passed away. All things have become new. Rude and unlettered tribes are transformed into enlightened and polished nations. Languages

that served but little except to express the more essential wants of animal existence, have become the vehicles of important truths and elevated sentiments. New regions of thought have opened upon the inquisitive and active spirit of man. A new heavens and a new earth are revealed to the eye of science. The planets revolve in other orbits, and by other and sublimer laws. The starry firmament, so long the object of idle gaze and stupid astonishment, is at length penetrated and explored. By an almost miraculous mechanism, the busy and restless intellect has transported itself into these trackless and boundless regions. The sphere of human observation has been enlarged in both directions. It has been made to comprehend the minute as well as the vast; new worlds and myriads of organized beings are brought to light, where, to the unassisted sense, there seemed no room for infinite intelligence to exert itself. In the arts also by which all these magnificent discoveries are made known, illustrated, and diffused, and brought down to every man's comprehension and to every man's means, the achievements of modern times are no less wonderful. While commerce distributes through innumerable channels the rich and varied productions of the earth, and supplies the deficiencies of one climate by the superfluities of another, it provides also for our intellectual and moral wants, diffuses far and wide the luxuries of the mind, and makes the works of genius, like the products of a fertile and favored soil, the common property of the human family.

This wide and rapid intercourse, this intimate connexion of mind with mind, upon the broad theatre of the world, gives scope to free and enlarged conceptions, and comprehensive views, at the same time that it sharpens the intellect and inspires a generous and lofty ambition. To what a degree are the motives to great and benevolent exertions, and the means of effecting philanthropic objects, thus increased. To what an extent are the glowing thoughts of a gifted mind made to act upon kindred minds. With what facility and dispatch does the knowledge of a useful discovery, invention, or process, make itself known to those who are to be benefitted by it. Compare the means of improvement and happiness, physical, moral, and intellectual, that fall to the lot of man in this age, with those which were enjoyed two thousand years ago. How great an advance, on the whole, has been made. How much more general are the conveniences and comforts of life, the blessings of knowledge, and the means and the motives to virtue. How much better are

the rights of man and of nations understood, and how much more respected. How much is the influence of Christianity now felt in all that belongs to human pursuits and human hopes. Man seems, in these latter days, to possess a milder nature, to breathe a purer atmosphere, to approach more nearly the state to which he is destined.

All this mighty apparatus by which our condition has been thus improved, should unquestionably be well studied and well understood by the young, who are to stand in our places, who are to inherit and transmit the sacred trust. We find, indeed, that in the institution under consideration, in addition to ancient literature, provision is made for moral philosophy and history, for the several branches of medicine, for English law, general jurisprudence and civil law; for the language and literature of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain; for mathematics and natural philosophy; for chemistry, botany, zoology, and comparative anatomy; for political economy; for oriental literature; for geology, mineralogy, and the application of chemistry and natural philosophy to the arts.

In providing for a good education, besides storing the mind with useful knowledge, particular care should be taken to select those studies which are best fitted to discipline and invigorate the intellectual faculties. This advantage is claimed, in the discourse before us, for the physical sciences. The following appeal is made by the author to his hearers.

‘What, let me ask, are the main objects of a liberal education? Are they not to train and discipline the thinking faculty, to nourish and strengthen the reasoning principle, to impart vigor and courage to invention, to raise the tone of all the higher energies of the intellect,—in a word, to render tough and brawny the thews and muscles of the mind? And what exercise is so well fitted to attain these great ends, as that which is furnished by the investigations which are found in every department of Physics? In the experimental inquiries here instituted, the student is placed, in a certain degree, under the dominion of circumstances: his judgment is called into action; in his arrangements selection is necessary; manual dexterity, quickness of observation, and skill in the adaptation of means to an end, are all required and all exerted. The results, thus obtained, subsequently form the basis of a system of rigorously demonstrative reasoning, by which he is conducted with infallible certainty to remote and complicated truths. Habits of attention and accuracy never fail to arise out of this exercise; and

above all, the mind acquires skill to detect, and power to expose, a sophism, however ingenious the disguise, or plausible the form it may assume. Thus the discursive faculty is strengthened and sharpened, the judgment exercised and quickened, and that most valuable quality, common sense, never ceases to be engaged.

‘I shall, perhaps, be told, that although the objects to which I have just adverted, include all those purposes of a liberal education which have direct and immediate utility, still that something more is necessary: that the mind, like the body, cannot be always in a state of full activity; that it must have its intervals of relaxation and repose; that subjects of elegant and pleasing meditation should be supplied to fill these intervals: and it will further be said, that the usage of elevated society demands grace and beauty of thought and expression, as imperiously as it exacts the same qualities in the external deportment of the body; that therefore it is an important part of a liberal education to store the mind with high contemplations, to inspire the soul with exalted sentiments, to fill the imagination with splendid associations, and to enrich the fancy with sublime imagery. These, I admit, are great and important objects, and, in certain stations and ranks, cannot and ought not to be dispensed with. The poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome, as well as those of a more modern era, the works of art in every age and country, have been studied with this view. Fertile sources these of the sublime and beautiful, and such as no one who values the estimation of the most refined and elegant society should overlook. But, while I freely admit the sublimity of the classic volume, may I not be permitted to say, that objects not less lofty will be found in the pages of the book of Nature? While I confess the beauty of the works of man, shall I not assert the majesty of the works of God? Will it be affirmed that the highest aspirations of a poet ever even approached in sublimity the scenery of the universe unveiled in modern Astronomy?—Spaces and magnitudes of infinite extent, motions and forms of surpassing beauty; order, and harmony, to which the most refined result of human art is a mere mockery.’—pp. 16–18.

While the study of natural philosophy is attended with these indirect benefits, the knowledge thus acquired is of the utmost importance, not only in what are usually denominated the mechanical arts, but also in the art of healing. There is much truth, we think, and some originality, in the following remarks;—

‘Among the professions in which an acquaintance with Natural Philosophy has been viewed rather as an accomplishment

than an essential, one of the first which claims our notice is the Medical. In the systems of education promulgated by those who have been invested by the Legislature with authority to control and direct the preliminary studies of certain classes of medical practitioners, and to appoint the qualifications necessary to entitle them to be permitted to superintend the treatment and cure of the derangements of the human body, *we find no mention of Physical Science.*'

'I am justified in asserting, that such an error as this is without a parallel in any system of professional education; for, if there be one avocation which more than another demands a knowledge of the laws of Mechanical Science, with which all its laws, in all its branches, are intimately connected, and in which they are practically applied, it is that art which has for its object to maintain in constant repair the most wonderful and most perfect of all machines,—the Human Body. Physical Science is the corner-stone of the arts of Medicine and Surgery. There is not a department of it, not an element, not a law, not a phenomenon, which does not find a practical illustration in the structure and functions of the Living Animal.

'I should be going too far in the sacrifice of truth to courtesy, were I not here, in the capacity of a public teacher, and placed as I am, under a serious responsibility, to lift my voice against this defect of the system of Medical Education in these countries. I do assert boldly, and will maintain confidently, that *this system is, and must continue to be insufficient, until the Elements of Physics constitute an integrant, essential, and indispensable part of it.* And here I ought to acknowledge, that although Physical Science *be* rejected by the public authorities, as a condition of admission to practice, yet there are numerous and respectable practitioners who have cultivated it very extensively. But if they have made that valuable acquisition, if they have elevated themselves in their own estimation, and in that of society, by raising their knowledge more near to the level of their high profession, to whom are they indebted for that distinction? Do they owe it to the good discipline of their early education, or to the excellent rules and institutions of the privileged school from which they have obtained their diploma? Or is it not rather due to their own judgment in perceiving the inconsistency, and perhaps to their own conscience in feeling the dishonesty, of practising an art without learning its principles?'

'In cases of derangement or dislocation, the problem presented, is to determine the best method of adjustment; where and how a force may be applied with the greatest mechanical advan-

tage, and with the least risk of injury? In such a case machines are to be selected or invented for the due application of the force; and even though such instruments should be obvious, the use of them may be attended with disastrous results, if attention be not given to their mechanical effects. A pulley might be used, which by a very slight application of manual force would tear off a limb. The want of mechanical knowledge in the surgeon, cannot be defended by saying that he may resort to the engineer; unless the engineer be also an anatomist, he cannot assist him; to contrive the machine, it is necessary to know minutely the structure, form, and strength of the parts to which it is to be applied, as well as the exact quantity of motion or force which must be produced. But, indeed, the necessity of mechanical knowledge in the selection, invention, construction, and use of surgical instruments, and in all surgical operations and inquiries, is so very obvious, that it is almost an insult to your understandings to dwell upon the subject; and it is lamentable to think that even an illusion to it should be called for at this time and in this place.

‘If the mere skeleton exhibit such multifarious illustrations of physical principles, what shall we say, when the sinews, tendons, muscles, nerves, veins, arteries, integuments, skin, and all the concomitant apparatus of the organized body are added? The mere skeleton is a machine, it is true, but it is one, whose properties and functions are explicable on the statical and dynamical principles of what is technically called an *invariable* system, the most simple form in which bodies can be mechanically considered. The sinews, tendons, muscles, and nerves, on the other hand, are *variable* systems, require the application of different reasoning, and fall under a different branch of the science. Partial rigidity, imperfect flexibility, tension, contraction, and elasticity, are here to be considered. It is in the last degree absurd, to suppose that we can have any distinct ideas of the powers and the action of those parts of the body, without having at least a general acquaintance with that part of the Physics which treats of the forces which I have just mentioned. It would seem almost an offence against the common sense of my hearers, were I to insist on proving that the action of the vascular system involves *hydrodynamical* principles; that the organs of respiration are *pneumatical*; that the oral and vocal organs are constructed on the principles of *acoustics*; that the principles on which the structure of the eye depends, cannot be intelligible without learning *optics*; that *capillary attraction* determines, in a great degree, the functions of all the pores, and of those delicate tubes called hairs. In fact, it is impossible to

look for a moment to the animal body, or any part of it, without observing the illustration of some scientific principle; every joint is a physical theorem, and every limb is a volume of mechanical philosophy.'—pp. 26-30.

The objection which some have made to the study of natural science, and especially against considering the human body as a machine, is very ingeniously and satisfactorily answered by our author.

'In mechanical philosophy,' he observes, 'the superficial physiologist will learn how unphilosophical it is to assume, that matter in different arrangements obeys different and inconsistent laws, and he will become convinced that such an hypothesis is as untenable as it is unnecessary. The zealous professor of a pure religion will be taught, that so far from mechanical reasoning having a tendency to prove that the body derives the principle of life from its own mechanism, all the analogies take a diametrically opposite direction, and demonstratively establish the impossibility of such a phenomenon.

'That you may not receive this assurance merely as a dictum, let us consider what constitutes a Machine, whence it derives its virtue, and what are its objects? A machine is a combination of parts composed of material substances, solid or fluid, or both, as the case may be, having certain definite forms and arrangements, and possessing certain capabilities of transmitting force or motion. Its objects are to move, press, sustain, combine, divide, or otherwise modify, those substances to which it is applied. But the machine itself, merely as such, cannot accomplish this. It possesses not its own principle of motion; it cannot urge its own levers, or stretch its own cords, or turn its own wheels, or put its own fluids into circulation. The application of some efficient cause extrinsic to, and altogether distinct from the machine itself, is necessary to accomplish this. This extrinsic cause, whatever it be, from which the machine derives its motion and efficacy, is called the *prime mover*. The point on which I desire now to fix your attention is, that this prime mover is altogether distinct from, and independent of, the machine; that it possesses, or at least may possess, no property in common with it, and that its existence or non-existence is not decided by the existence or non-existence of the machine. The machine may be broken, destroyed, worn by age, or otherwise disabled, and yet the prime mover may still retain its original energy. Thus a steam-engine is moved by fire, a mill by wind or water: the steam-engine may deteriorate by age, and the mill be broken to pieces by accident, and yet the fire, and

the wind, and the water, will still preserve their powers. Now, these observations, which I think correctly describe a Machine, may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to the Human Body. This body is also "a combination of parts composed of material substances, solid and fluid, having certain definite forms and arrangement, possessing certain capabilities of motion and force," destined and admirably adapted to obey the dictation of its Prime Mover, the living principle, the immaterial spirit. So long as it pleases the great Engineer who constructed this body, to permit its connexion with that intellectual spirit, so long will it obey the impulses which it receives; nor does the decay of this Bodily Machine infer any corresponding decay in the moving Spirit, any more than the wear and tear of a Steam-engine proves the destruction of the principle of Heat which gives it motion. Neither are we to infer, because this Bodily Machine in its obedience to the Vital Spirit acts mechanically, and follows all the ordinary properties and laws of Matter, that, therefore, the Spirit which moves it partakes of the nature of Matter, or is amenable to its laws, any more than we should infer that the levers, wheels, pumps, chains, cords, and valves of a Steam-engine are regulated by the laws which govern Heat. On the contrary, I submit it to the candor of the most sceptical materialist, whether the whole tendency of analogy does not directly overthrow the hypothesis that the principle of life is organic. We are told in THAT BOOK, of which both Christian and Jew equally acknowledge the authority, however they may otherwise differ, that, in the first instance, "God formed man of the dust of the ground;" that is to say, he created that curious and beautiful machine, the organized Human Body—but that body was still an inert structure without the principle of motion or spontaneity; a more noble work remained to be performed, the immaterial spirit, the divine essence, *the prime mover* of this machine was to be applied, and accordingly we learn that God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life," and then, and not till then, "MAN BECAME A LIVING SOUL."—pp. 31–33.

Dr Lardner has already done much, by several very valuable works, to improve elementary instruction; and he is still largely engaged as an author. His talents, and learning, and indefatigable industry, and practical acquaintance with the business of instruction, are such as eminently qualify him for the conspicuous station which he holds; and the greatest good may be expected from his labors.

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Darius P. ...

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NEW SERIES—NO. VI.

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ART. I.—*A Discourse concerning the Influence of America on the Mind, being the Annual Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, at the University in Philadelphia, October 18, 1823.* By C. J. INGERSOLL. Philadelphia, A. Small. 8vo. pp. 67.

By William Ellery Channing.
WE shall use the work prefixed to this article, as ministers are sometimes said to use their texts. We shall make it a point to start from, not the subject of our remarks. Our purpose is to treat of the importance and means of a National Literature. The topic seems to us a great one, and to have intimate connexions with morals and religion, as well as with all our public interests. Our views will be given with great freedom, and if they serve no other purpose than to recommend the subject to more general attention, one of our principal objects will be accomplished.

We begin with stating what we mean by national literature. We mean the expression of a nation's mind in writing. We mean the production among a people of important works in philosophy, and in the departments of imagination and taste. We mean the contribution of new truths to the stock of human knowledge. We mean the thoughts of profound and original minds, elaborated by the toil of composition and fixed and made immortal in books. We mean the manifestation of a nation's intellect in the only forms by which it can multiply itself at home, and send itself abroad. We mean that a nation shall take a place, by its authors, among the lights of the world. It will be seen, that we include under literature all the writings of

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superior minds, be the subjects what they may. We are aware that the term is often confined to compositions which relate to human nature, and human life; that it is not generally extended to physical science; that mind, not matter, is regarded as its main subject and sphere. But the worlds of matter and mind are too intimately connected to admit of exact partition. All the objects of human thought flow into one another. Moral and physical truths have many bonds and analogies, and whilst the former are the chosen and noblest themes of literature, we are not anxious to divorce them from the latter, or to shut them up in a separate department. The expression of superior mind in writing, we regard then, as a nation's literature. We regard its gifted men, whether devoted to the exact sciences, to mental and ethical philosophy, to history and legislation, or to fiction and poetry, as forming a noble intellectual brotherhood, and it is for the purpose of quickening all to join their labors for the public good, that we offer the present plea in behalf of a national literature.

To show the importance which we attach to the subject, we begin with some remarks on what we deem the distinction which a nation should most earnestly covet. We believe that more distinct apprehensions on this point are needed, and that for want of them, the work of improvement is carried on with less energy, consistency, and wisdom, than may and should be brought to bear upon it. The great distinction of a country, then, is, that it produces superior men. Its natural advantages are not to be disdained. But they are of secondary importance. No matter what races of animals a country breeds. The great question is, does it breed a noble race of men. No matter what its soil may be. The great question is, how far is it prolific of moral and intellectual power. No matter how stern its climate is, if it nourish force of thought and virtuous purpose. These are the products by which a country is to be tried, and institutions have value only by the impulse which they give to the mind. It has sometimes been said, that the noblest men grow where nothing else will grow. This we do not believe, for mind is not the creature of climate or soil. But were it true, we should say, that it were better to live among rocks and sands, than in the most genial and productive region on the face of the earth.

As yet, the great distinction of a nation on which we have insisted, has been scarcely recognised. The idea of forming a

superior race of men has entered little into schemes of policy. Invention and effort have been expended on matter, much more than on mind. Lofty piles have been reared; the earth has groaned under pyramids and palaces. The thought of building up a nobler order of intellect and character, has hardly crossed the most adventurous statesman. We beg that we may not be misapprehended. We offer these remarks to correct what we deem a disproportioned attention to physical good, and not at all to condemn the expenditure of ingenuity and strength on the outward world. There is a harmony between all our great interests, between inward and outward improvements; and by establishing among them a wise order, all will be secured. We have no desire to shut up man in his own spiritual nature. The mind was made to act on matter, and it grows by expressing itself in material forms. We believe, too, that in proportion as it shall gain intellectual and moral power, it will exert itself with increased energy and delight on the outward creation; will pour itself forth more freely in useful and ornamental arts; will rear more magnificent structures, and will call forth new beauties in nature. An intelligent and resolute spirit in a community, perpetually extends its triumphs over matter. It can even subject to itself the most unpromising region. Holland, diked from the ocean, Venice, rising amidst the waves, and New England, bleak and rock bound New England, converted by a few generations from a wilderness into smiling fields and opulent cities, point us to the mind as the great source of physical good, and teach us that in making the culture of man our highest end, we shall not retard, but advance the cultivation of nature.

The question which we most solicitously ask about this country, is, what race of men it is likely to produce. We consider its liberty of value, only as far as it favors the growth of men. What is liberty? The removal of restraint from human powers. Its benefit is, that it opens new fields for action, and a wider range for the mind. The only freedom worth possessing, is that which gives enlargement to a people's energy, intellect, and virtues. The savage makes his boast of freedom. But what is its worth? Free as he is, he continues for ages in the same ignorance, leads the same comfortless life, sees the same untamed wilderness spread around him. He is indeed free from what he calls the yoke of civil institutions. But other, and worse chains bind him. The very privation of civil government,

- is in effect a chain; for, by withholding protection from property, it virtually shackles the arm of industry, and forbids exertion for the melioration of his lot. Progress, the growth of power, is the end and boon of liberty; and without this, a people may have the name, but want the substance and spirit of freedom.

We are the more earnest in enlarging on these views, because we feel that our attachment to our country must be very much proportioned to what we deem its tendency to form a generous race of men. We pretend not to have thrown off national feeling; but we have some stronger feelings. We love our country much, but mankind more. As men and Christians, our first desire is to see the improvement of human nature. We desire to see the soul of man, wiser, firmer, nobler, more conscious of its imperishable treasures, more beneficent and powerful, more alive to its connexion with God, more able to use pleasure and prosperity aright, and more victorious over poverty, adversity, and pain. In our survey of our own and other countries, the great question which comes to us, is this; Where and under what institutions are men most likely to advance? Where are the soundest minds and the purest hearts formed? What nation possesses in its history, its traditions, its government, its religion, its manners, its pursuits, its relations to other communities, and especially in its private and public means of education, the instruments and pledges of a more resolute virtue and devotion to truth, than we now witness? Such a nation, be it where it may, will engage our warmest interest. We love our country, but not blindly. In all nations we recognise one great family, and our chief wish for our native land, is, that it may take the first rank among the lights and benefactors of the human race.

These views will explain the vast importance which we attach to a national literature. By this, as we have said, we understand the expression of a nation's mind in writing. It is the action of the most gifted understandings on the community. It throws into circulation through a wide sphere the most quickening and beautiful thoughts, which have grown up in men of laborious study or creative genius. It is a much higher work than the communication of a gifted intellect in discourse. It is the mind giving to multitudes whom no voice can reach, its compressed and selected thoughts, in the most lucid order and attractive forms which it is capable of inventing. In other words, literature is the concentration of intellect for the purpose of spreading itself abroad and multiplying its energy.

Such being the nature of literature, it is plainly among the most powerful methods of exalting the character of a nation, of forming a better race of men. In truth, we apprehend that it may claim the first rank among the means of improvement. We know nothing so fitted to the advancement of society, as to bring its higher minds to bear upon the multitude; as to establish close connexions between the more and less gifted; as to spread far and wide the light which springs up in meditative, profound, and sublime understandings. It is the ordinance of God, and one of his most benevolent laws, that the human race should be carried forward by impulses which originate in a few minds, perhaps in an individual; and in this way the most interesting relations and dependences of life are framed. When a great truth is to be revealed, it does not flash at once on the race, but dawns and brightens on a superior understanding, from which it is to emanate and to illumine future ages. On the faithfulness of great minds to this awful function, the progress and happiness of men chiefly depend. The most illustrious benefactors of the race have been men, who, having risen to great truths, have held them as a sacred trust for their kind, and have borne witness to them amidst general darkness, under scorn and persecution, perhaps in the face of death. Such men, indeed, have not always made contributions to literature, for their condition has not allowed them to be authors; but we owe the transmission, perpetuity, and immortal power of their new and high thoughts, to kindred spirits, which have concentrated and fixed them in books.

The quickening influences of literature need not be urged on those who are familiar with the history of modern Europe, and who of course know the spring given to the human mind by the revival of ancient learning. Through their writings the great men of antiquity have exercised a sovereignty over these later ages, not enjoyed in their own. It is more important to observe, that the influence of literature is perpetually increasing; for, through the press and the spread of education, its sphere is indefinitely enlarged. Reading, once the privilege of a few, is now the occupation of multitudes, and is to become one of the chief gratifications of all. Books penetrate everywhere, and some of the works of genius find their way to obscure dwellings, which, a little while ago, seemed barred against all intellectual light. Writing is now the mightiest instrument on earth. Through this, the mind has acquired a kind of

omnipresence. To literature we then look, as the chief means of forming a better race of human beings. To superior minds, which may act through this, we look for the impulses by which their country is to be carried forward. We would teach them, that they are the depositaries of the highest power on earth, and that on them the best hopes of society rest.

We are aware that some may think, that we are exalting intellectual above moral and religious influence. They may tell us, that the teaching of moral and religious truth, not by philosophers and boasters of wisdom, but by the comparatively weak and foolish, is the great means of renovating the world. This truth we indeed regard as 'the power of God unto salvation.' But let none imagine, that its chosen temple is an uncultivated mind, and that it selects, as its chief organs, the lips of the unlearned. Religious and moral truth is indeed appointed to carry forward mankind; but not as conceived and expounded by narrow minds, not as darkened by the ignorant, not as debased by the superstitious, not as subtilized by the visionary, not as thundered out by the intolerant fanatic, not as turned into a drivelling cant by the hypocrite. Like all other truths, it requires for its full reception and powerful communication, a free and vigorous intellect. Indeed, its grandeur and infinite connexions demand a more earnest and various use of our faculties than any other subject. As a single illustration of this remark, we may observe, that all moral and religious truth may be reduced to one great and central thought, Perfection of Mind; a thought which comprehends all that is glorious in the Divine nature, and which reveals to us the end and happiness of our own existence. This perfection has as yet only dawned on the most gifted human beings, and the great purpose of our present and future existence is to enlarge our conceptions of it without end, and to embody and make them manifest in character and life. And is this sublime thought to grow within us, to refine itself from error and impure mixture, to receive perpetual accessions of brightness from the study of God, man, and nature, and especially to be communicated powerfully to others, without the vigorous exertion of our intellectual nature? Religion has been wronged by nothing more, than by being separated from intellect; than by being removed from the province of reason and free research, into that of mystery and authority, of impulse and feeling. Hence it is, that the prevalent forms or exhibitions of Christianity, are comparatively inert, and that most which is written

on the subject is of little or no worth. Christianity was given, not to contradict and degrade the rational nature, but to call it forth, to enlarge its range and its powers. It admits of endless developement. It is the last truth which should remain stationary. It ought to be so explored and so expressed, as to take the highest place in a nation's literature, as to exalt and purify all other literature. From these remarks it will be seen, that the efficacy which we have ascribed to literary or intellectual influence in the work of human improvement, is consistent with the supreme importance of moral and religious truth.

If we have succeeded in conveying the impressions which we have aimed to make, our readers are now prepared to inquire with interest into the condition and prospects of literature among ourselves. Do we possess, indeed, what may be called a national literature? Have we produced eminent writers in the various departments of intellectual effort? Are our chief resources of instruction and literary enjoyment furnished from ourselves? We regret that the reply to these questions is so obvious. The few standard works which we have produced, and which promise to live, can hardly, by any courtesy, be denominated a national literature. On this point, if marks and proofs of our real condition were needed, we should find them in the current apologies for our deficiencies. Our writers are accustomed to plead in our excuse our youth, the necessities of a newly settled country, and the direction of our best talents to practical life. Be the pleas sufficient or not, one thing they prove, and that is, our consciousness of having failed to make important contributions to the interests of the intellect. We have few names to place by the side of the great names in science and literature on the other side of the ocean. We want those lights which make a country conspicuous at a distance. Let it not be said, that European envy denies our just claims. In an age like this, when the literary world forms a great family, and the products of mind are circulated more rapidly than those of machinery, it is a nation's own fault, if its name be not pronounced with honor beyond itself. We have ourselves heard, and delighted to hear, beyond the Alps, our country designated as the land of Franklin. This name had scaled that mighty barrier, and made us known where our institutions and modes of life were hardly better understood than those of the natives of our forests.

We are accustomed to console ourselves for the absence of

a commanding literature, by urging our superiority to other nations in our institutions for the diffusion of elementary knowledge through all classes of the community. We have here just cause for boasting, though perhaps less than we imagine. That there are gross deficiencies in our common schools, and that the amount of knowledge which they communicate, when compared with the time spent in its acquisition, is lamentably small, the community begin to feel. There is a crying need for a higher and more quickening kind of instruction than the laboring part of society have yet received, and we rejoice that the cry begins to be heard. But allowing our elementary institutions to be ever so perfect, we confess that they do not satisfy us. We want something more. A dead level of intellect, even if it should rise above what is common in other nations, would not answer our wishes and hopes for our country. We want great minds to be formed among us, minds which shall be felt afar, and through which we may act on the world. We want the human intellect to do its utmost here. We want this people to obtain a claim on the gratitude of the human race, by adding strength to the foundations, and fulness and splendor to the developement of moral and religious truth; by originality of thought, by discoveries of science, and by contributions to the refining pleasures of taste and imagination.

With these views we do and must lament, that, however we surpass other nations in providing for, and spreading elementary instruction, we fall behind many in provision for the liberal training of the intellect, for forming great scholars, for communicating that profound knowledge, and that thirst for higher truths, which can alone originate a commanding literature. The truth ought to be known. There is among us much superficial knowledge, but little severe, persevering research; little of that consuming passion for new truth, which makes outward things worthless; little resolute devotion to a high intellectual culture. There is nowhere a literary atmosphere, or such an accumulation of literary influence, as determines the whole strength of the mind to its own enlargement, and to the manifestation of itself in enduring forms. Few among us can be said to have followed out any great subject of thought patiently, laboriously, so as to know thoroughly what others have discovered and taught concerning it, and thus to occupy a ground from which new views may be gained. Of course exceptions are to be found. ~~The country~~ ~~has produced original and profound thinkers.~~ ~~Our literature~~

named Franklin, and we may name Edwards, one of the greatest men of his age, though unhappily his mind was lost, in a great degree, to literature, and, we fear, to religion, by vassalage to a false theology. His work on the Will throws, indeed, no light on human nature, and, notwithstanding the nobleness of the subject, gives no great or elevated thoughts; but as a specimen of logical acuteness and controversial power, it certainly ranks in the very highest class of metaphysical writings. We might also name living authors who do honor to their country. Still, we must say, we chiefly prize what has been done among us, as a promise of higher and more extensive effort. Patriotism, as well as virtue, forbids us to burn incense to national vanity. The truth should be seen and felt. In an age of great intellectual activity, we rely chiefly for intellectual excitement and enjoyment on foreign minds, nor is our own mind felt abroad. Whilst clamoring against dependence on European manufactures, we contentedly rely on Europe for the nobler and more important fabrics of the intellect. We boast of our political institutions, and receive our chief teachings, books, impressions, from the school of monarchy. True, we labor under disadvantages. But if our liberty deserve the praise which it receives, it is more than a balance for these. We believe that it is. We believe that it does open to us an indefinite intellectual progress. Did we not so regard it, we should value it little. If hereditary governments minister most to the growth of the mind, better restore them than to cling to a barren freedom. Let us not expose liberty to this reproach. Let us prove, by more generous provisions for the diffusion of elementary knowledge, for the training of great minds, and for the joint culture of the moral and intellectual powers, that we are more and more instructed, by freedom, in the worth and greatness of human nature, and in the obligation of contributing to its strength and glory.

We have spoken of the condition of our literature. We now proceed to the consideration of the causes which obstruct its advancement; and we are immediately struck by one so prevalent, as to deserve distinct notice. We refer to the common doctrine, that we need, in this country, useful knowledge rather than profound, extensive, and elegant literature, and that this last, if we covet it, may be imported from abroad in such variety and abundance, as to save us the necessity of producing it

among ourselves. How far are these opinions just? This question we purpose to answer.

That useful knowledge should receive our first and chief care, we mean not to dispute. But in our views of utility, we may differ from some who take this position. There are those who confine this term to the necessities and comforts of life, and to the means of producing them. And is it true, that we need no knowledge, but that which clothes and feeds us? Is it true, that all studies may be dispensed with, but such as teach us to act on matter, and to turn it to our use? Happily, human nature is too stubborn to yield to this narrow utility. It is interesting to observe how the very mechanical arts, which are especially designed to minister to the necessities and comforts of life, are perpetually passing these limits; how they disdain to stop at mere convenience. A large and increasing proportion of mechanical labor is given to the gratification of an elegant taste. How simple would be the art of building, if it limited itself to the construction of a comfortable shelter. How many ships should we dismantle, and how many busy trades put to rest, were dress and furniture reduced to the standard of convenience. This 'utility' would work great changes in town and country, would level to the dust the wonders of architecture, would annihilate the fine arts, and blot out innumerable beauties, which the hand of taste has spread over the face of the earth. Happily, human nature is too strong for the utilitarian. It cannot satisfy itself with the convenient. No passion unfolds itself sooner than the love of the ornamental. The savage decorates his person, and the child is more struck with the beauty, than the uses of its raiment. So far from limiting ourselves to convenient food and raiment, we enjoy but little a repast which is not arranged with some degree of order and taste, and a man, who should consult comfort alone in his wardrobe, would find himself an unwelcome guest in circles which he would very reluctantly forego. We are aware that the propensity to which we have referred, often breaks out in extravagance and ruinous luxury. We know, that the love of ornament is often vitiated by vanity, and that, when so perverted, it impairs, sometimes destroys, the soundness and simplicity of the mind, and the relish for true glory. Still, it teaches, even in its excesses, that the idea of beauty is an indestructible principle of our nature, and this single truth is enough to put us on our guard against vulgar notions of utility.

We have said that we prize, as highly as any, useful knowledge. But by this we mean knowledge which answers and ministers to our complex and various nature; we mean that which is useful, not only to the animal man, but to the intellectual, moral, and religious man; useful to a being of spiritual faculties, whose happiness is to be found in their free and harmonious exercise. We grant, that there is a primary necessity for that information and skill by which subsistence is earned, and life is preserved; for it is plain that we must live, in order to act and improve. But life is the means; action and improvement the end; and who will deny that the noblest utility belongs to that knowledge, by which the chief purpose of our creation is accomplished? According to these views, a people should honor and cultivate, as unspeakably useful, that literature which corresponds to, and calls forth the highest faculties; which expresses and communicates energy of thought, fruitfulness of invention, force of moral purpose, a thirst for the true, and a delight in the beautiful. According to these views, we attach special importance to those branches of literature, which relate to human nature, and which give it a consciousness of its own powers. History has a noble use, for it shows us human beings in various and opposite conditions, in their strength and weakness, in their progress and relapses, and thus reveals the causes and means by which the happiness and virtue of the race may be enlarged. Poetry is useful, by touching deep springs in the human soul; by giving voice to its more delicate feelings; by breathing out and making more intelligible, the sympathy which subsists between the mind and the outward universe; by creating beautiful forms or manifestations for great moral truths. Above all, that higher philosophy, which treats of the intellectual and moral constitution of man, of the foundation of knowledge, of duty, of perfection, of our relations to the spiritual world, and especially to God; this has a usefulness so peculiar as to throw other departments of knowledge into obscurity; and a people among whom this does not find honor, has little ground to boast of its superiority to uncivilized tribes. It will be seen from these remarks, that utility, with us, has a broad meaning. In truth, we are slow to condemn as useless, any researches or discoveries of original and strong minds, even when we discern in them no bearing on any interests of mankind; for all truth is of a prolific nature, and has connexions not immediately perceived; and it may be that what we call vain speculations, may,

at no distant period, link themselves with some new facts or theories, and guide a profound thinker to the most important results. The ancient mathematician, when absorbed in solitary thought, little imagined that his theorems, after the lapse of ages, were to be applied by the mind of Newton to the solution of the mysteries of the universe, and not only to guide the astronomer through the heavens, but the navigator through the pathless ocean. For ourselves we incline to hope much from truths, which are particularly decried as useless; for the noblest and most useful truth is of an abstract or universal nature; and yet the abstract, though susceptible of infinite application, is generally, as we know, opposed to the practical.

We maintain that a people, which has any serious purpose of taking a place among improved communities, should studiously promote within itself every variety of intellectual exertion. It should resolve strenuously to be surpassed by none. It should feel that mind is the creative power, through which all the resources of nature are to be turned to account, and by which a people is to spread its influence, and establish the noblest form of empire. It should train within itself men able to understand and to use whatever is thought and discovered over the whole earth. The whole mass of human knowledge should exist among a people, not in neglected libraries, but in its higher minds. Among its most cherished institutions, should be those, which will insure to it ripe scholars, explorers of ancient learning, profound historians and mathematicians, intellectual laborers devoted to physical and moral science, and to the creation of a refined and beautiful literature.

Let us not be misunderstood. We have no desire to rear in our country a race of pedants, of solemn triflers, of laborious commentators on the mysteries of a Greek accent or a rusty coin. We would have men explore antiquity, not to bury themselves in its dust, but to learn its spirit, and so to commune with its superior minds, as to accumulate on the present age, the influences of whatever was great and wise in former times. What we want, is, that those among us, whom God has gifted to comprehend whatever is now known, and to rise to new truths, may find aids and institutions to fit them for their high calling, and may become at once springs of a higher intellectual life to their own country, and joint workers with the great of all nations and times in carrying forward their race.

We know that it will be said, that foreign scholars, bred under institutions which this country cannot support, may do our intellectual work, and send us books and learning to meet our wants. To this we have much to answer. In the first place, we reply, that to avail ourselves of the higher literature of other nations, we must place ourselves on a level with them. The products of foreign machinery we can use, without any portion of the skill which produced them. But works of taste and genius, and profound investigations of philosophy, can only be estimated and enjoyed, through a culture and power corresponding to that from which they sprung.

In the next place, we maintain, that it is an immense gain to a people, to have in its own bosom, among its own sons, men of distinguished intellect. Such men give a spring and life to a community by their presence, their society, their fame; and what deserves remark, such men are nowhere so felt as in a republic like our own; for here the different classes of society flow together and act powerfully on each other, and a free communication, elsewhere unknown, is established between the gifted few and the many. It is one of the many good fruits of liberty, that it increases the diffusiveness of intellect; and accordingly a free country is above all others false to itself, in withholding from its superior minds, the means of enlargement.

We next observe, and we think the observation important, that the facility with which we receive the literature of foreign countries, instead of being a reason for neglecting our own, is a strong motive for its cultivation. We mean not to be paradoxical, but we believe that it would be better to admit no books from abroad, than to make them substitutes for our own intellectual activity. The more we receive from other countries, the greater the need of an original literature. A people, into whose minds the thoughts of foreigners are poured perpetually, needs an energy within itself to resist, to modify this mighty influence, and without it, will inevitably sink under the worst bondage, will become intellectually tame and enslaved. We have certainly no desire to complete our restrictive system, by adding to it a literary non-intercourse law. We rejoice in the increasing intellectual connexion between this country and the old world. But sooner would we rupture it, than see our country sitting passively at the feet of foreign teachers. Better have no literature, than form ourselves unresistingly on a foreign one. The true sovereigns of a country are those who determine its mind,

its modes of thinking, its tastes, its principles; and we cannot consent to lodge this sovereignty in the hands of strangers. A country, like an individual, has dignity and power only in proportion as it is self-formed. There is a great stir to secure to ourselves the manufacturing of our own clothing. We say, let others spin and weave for us, but let them not think for us. A people, whose government and laws are nothing but the embodying of public opinion, should jealously guard this opinion against foreign dictation. We need a literature to counteract, and to use wisely the literature which we import. We need an inward power proportionate to that which is exerted on us, as the means of self-subsistence. It is peculiarly true of a people, whose institutions demand for their support a free and bold spirit, that they should be able to subject to a manly and independent criticism, whatever comes from abroad. These views seem to us to deserve serious attention. We are more and more a reading people. Books are already among the most powerful influences here. The question is, Shall Europe, through these, fashion us after its pleasure? Shall America be only an echo of what is thought and written under the aristocracies beyond the ocean?

Another view of the subject is this. A foreign literature will always, in a measure, be foreign. It has sprung from the soul of another people, which, however like, is still not our own soul. Every people has much in its own character and feelings, which can only be embodied by its own writers, and which, when transfused through literature, makes it touching and true, like the voice of our earliest friend.

We now proceed to an argument in favor of native literature, which, if less obvious, is, we believe, not less sound, than those now already adduced. We have hitherto spoken of literature as the expression, the communication of the higher minds in a community. We now add, that it does much more than is commonly supposed, to *form* such minds, so that without it, a people wants one of the chief means of educating or perfecting talent and genius. One of the great laws of our nature, and a law singularly important to social beings, is, that the intellect enlarges and strengthens itself by expressing worthily its best views. In this, as in other respects, it is more blessed to give than to receive. Superior minds are formed, not merely by solitary thought, but almost as much by communication. Great thoughts are never fully possessed, till he who has con-

ceived them, has given them fit utterance. One of the noblest and most invigorating labors of genius, is to clothe its conceptions in clear and glorious forms, to give them existence in other souls. Thus literature creates, as well as manifests, intellectual power, and without it, the highest minds will never be summoned to the most invigorating action.

We doubt whether a man ever brings his faculties to bear with their whole force on a subject, until he writes upon it for the instruction or gratification of others. To place it clearly before others, he feels the necessity of viewing it more vividly himself. By attempting to seize his thoughts, and fix them in an enduring form, he finds them vague and unsatisfactory, to a degree which he did not suspect, and toils for a precision and harmony of views, of which he never before felt the need. He places his subject in new lights; submits it to a searching analysis; compares and connects with it his various knowledge; seeks for it new illustrations and analogies; weighs objections, and through these processes often arrives at higher truths than he first aimed to illustrate. Dim conceptions grow bright. Glorious thoughts, which had darted as meteors through the mind, are arrested, and gradually shine, with a sunlike splendor, with prolific energy, on the intellect and heart. It is one of the chief distinctions of a great mind, that it is prone to rush into twilight regions, and to catch faint glimmerings of distant and unbounded prospects; and nothing perhaps aids it more to pierce the shadows which surround it, than the labor to unfold to other minds the indistinct conceptions which have dawned on its own. Even where composition yields no such fruits, it is still a great intellectual help. It always favors comprehensive and systematical views. The laborious distribution of a great subject, so as to assign to each part or topic its just position and due proportion, is singularly fitted to give compass and persevering force of thought.

If we confine ourselves simply to the consideration of style, we shall have reason to think that a people among whom this is neglected, wants one important intellectual aid. In this, great power is exerted, and by exertion increased. To the multitude, indeed, language seems so natural an instrument, that to use it with clearness and energy, seems no great effort. It is framed, they think, to the writer's hand, and so continually employed as to need little thought or skill. But in nothing is the creative power of a gifted writer seen more

than in his style. True, his words may be found in the dictionary. But there they lie disjointed and dead. What a wonderful life does he breathe into them, by compacting them into his sentences. Perhaps he uses no term which has not been hackneyed by ordinary writers; and yet with these vulgar materials what miracles does he achieve. What a world of thought does he condense into a phrase. By new combinations of common words, what delicate hues or what a blaze of light, does he pour over his subject. Power of style depends very little on the structure or copiousness of the language which the writer of genius employs, but chiefly, if not wholly, on his own mind. The words arranged in his dictionary, are no more fitted to depict his thoughts, than the block of marble in the sculptor's shop, to show forth the conceptions which are dawning in his mind. Both are inert materials. The power which pervades them, comes from the soul; and the same creative energy is manifested in the production of a noble style, as in extracting beautiful forms from the lifeless stone. How unfaithful, then, is a nation to its own intellect, in which grace and force of style receive no culture.

The remarks now made on the importance of literature as a means of educating talent and genius, we are aware, do not apply equally to all subjects or kinds of knowledge. In the exact or physical sciences, a man may acquire much without composition, and may make discoveries without registering them. Even here, however, we believe, that, by a systematic development of his views in a luminous style, he will bring great aid to his own faculties, as well as to others'. It is on the vast subjects of morals and human nature, that the mind especially strengthens itself by elaborate composition; and these, let it be remembered, form the staple of the highest literature. Moral truth, under which we include everything relating to mind and character, is of a refined and subtle, as well as elevated nature, and requires the joint and full exercise of discrimination, invention, imagination, and sensibility, to give it effectual utterance. A writer who would make it visible and powerful, must strive to join an austere logic to a fervent eloquence; must place it in various lights; must create for it interesting forms; must wed it to beauty; must illuminate it by similitudes and contrasts; must show its correspondence with the outward world, perhaps must frame for it a vast machinery of fiction. How invigorating are these efforts! Yet it is only in writing, in elabo-

rate composition, that they are deliberately called forth and sustained, and without literature they would almost cease. It may be said of many truths, that greater intellectual energy is required to express them with effect, than to conceive them ; so that a nation, which does not encourage this expression, impoverishes, so far, its own mind. Take for example, Shakspeare's Hamlet. This is a developement of a singularly interesting view of human nature. It shows us a mind, to which life is a burden ; in which the powers of meditation and feeling are disproportioned to the active powers ; which sinks under its own weight, under the consciousness of wanting energies commensurate with its visions of good, with its sore trials, and with the solemn task which is laid upon it. To conceive clearly this form of human nature, shows indeed the genius of the writer. But what a new power is required to bring it out in such a drama as Shakspeare's ; to give it life and action ; to invent for it circumstances and subordinate characters, fitted to call it forth ; to give it tones of truth and nature ; to show the hues which it casts over all the objects of thought. This intellectual energy we all perceive ; and this was not merely *manifested* in Shakspeare's work, but without such a work, it would not have been awakened. His invention would have slumbered, had he not desired to give forth his mind in a visible and enduring form. Thus literature is the nurse of genius. Through this, genius learns its own strength, and continually accumulates it ; and of course, in a country without literature, genius, however liberally bestowed by the Creator, will languish, and will fail to fulfil its great duty of quickening the mass amidst which it lives.

We come now to our last, and what we deem a weighty argument in favor of a native literature. We desire and would cherish it, because we hope from it important aids to the cause of truth and human nature. We believe, that a literature, springing up in this new soil, would bear new fruits, and, in some respects, more precious fruits, than are elsewhere produced. We know that our hopes may be set down to the account of that national vanity, which, with too much reason, is placed by foreigners among our besetting sins. But we speak from calm and deliberate conviction. We are inclined to believe, that, as a people, we occupy a position, from which the great subjects of literature may be viewed more justly than from those which most other nations hold. Undoubtedly we labor under disadvantages. We want the literary apparatus of Europe ; her

libraries, her universities, her learned institutions, her race of professed scholars, her spots consecrated by the memory of sages, and a thousand stirring associations, which hover over ancient nurseries of learning. But the mind is not a local power. Its spring is within itself, and under the inspiration of liberal and high feeling, it may attain and worthily express nobler truth than outward helps could reveal.

The great distinction of our country, is, that we enjoy some peculiar advantages for understanding our own nature. Man is the great subject of literature, and juster and profounder views of man may be expected here, than elsewhere. In Europe, political and artificial distinctions have, more or less, triumphed over and obscured our common nature. In Europe, we meet kings, nobles, priests, peasants. How much rarer is it to meet *men*; by which we mean, human beings conscious of their own nature, and conscious of the utter worthlessness of all outward distinctions, compared with what is treasured up in their own souls. Man does not value himself as man. It is for his blood, his rank, or some artificial distinction, and not for the attributes of humanity, that he holds himself in respect. The institutions of the old world all tend to throw obscurity over what we most need to know, and that is, the worth and claims of a human being. We know that great improvements in this respect are going on abroad. Still the many are too often postponed to the few. The mass of men are regarded as instruments to work with, as materials to be shaped for the use of their superiors. That consciousness of our own nature, which contains, as a germ, all noble thoughts, which teaches us at once self-respect and respect for others, and which binds us to God by filial sentiment and hope, this has been repressed, kept down by establishments founded in force; and literature, in all its departments, bears, we think, the traces of this inward degradation. We conceive that our position favors a juster and profounder estimate of human nature. We mean not to boast, but there are fewer obstructions to that moral consciousness, that consciousness of humanity, of which we have spoken. Man is not hidden from us by as many disguises as in the old world. The essential equality of all human beings, founded on the possession of a spiritual, progressive, immortal nature, is, we hope, better understood; and nothing, more than this single conviction, is needed to work

the mightiest changes in every province of human life and of human thought.

We have stated what seems to us our most important distinction. But our position has other advantages. The mere circumstance of its being a new one, gives reason to hope for some new intellectual activity, some fresher views of nature and life. We are not borne down by the weight of antiquated institutions, time-hallowed abuses, and the remnants of feudal barbarism. The absence of a religious establishment, is an immense gain, as far as originality of mind is in question; for an establishment, however advantageous in other respects, is, by its nature, hostile to discovery and progress. To keep the mind where it is, to fasten the notions of one age on all future time, is its aim and proper business; and if it happened, as has generally been the case, to grow up in an age of strife and passion, when, as history demonstrates, the church was overrun with error, it cannot but perpetuate darkness and mental bondage. Among us, intellect, though far from being free, has broken some of the chains of other countries, and is more likely, we conceive, to propose to itself its legitimate object, truth, everlasting and universal truth.

We have no thought of speaking contemptuously of the literature of the old world. It is our daily nutriment. We feel our debt to be immense to the glorious company of pure and wise minds, which in foreign lands have bequeathed us in writing their choicest thoughts and holiest feelings. Still we feel, that all existing literature has been produced under influences, which have necessarily mixed with it much error and corruption, and that the whole of it ought to pass, and must pass, under rigorous review. For example, we think that the history of the human race is to be rewritten. Men imbued with the prejudices which thrive under aristocracies and state religions, cannot understand it. Past ages, with their great events, and great men, are to undergo, we think, a new trial, and to yield new results. It is plain, that history is already viewed under new aspects, and we believe that the true principles for studying and writing it, are to be unfolded here, at least as rapidly as in other countries. It seems to us that in literature an immense work is yet to be done. The most interesting questions to mankind, are yet in debate. Great principles are yet to be settled in criticism, in morals, in politics; and above all, the true character of religion is to be rescued from the disguises and corruptions

of ages. We want a reformation. We want a literature, in which genius will pay supreme, if not undivided homage, to truth and virtue ; in which the childish admiration of what has been called greatness, will give place to a wise moral judgment ; which will breathe reverence for the mind, and elevating thoughts of God. The part which this country is to bear in this great intellectual reform, we presume not to predict. We feel, however, that if true to itself, it will have the glory and happiness of giving new impulses to the human mind. This is our cherished hope. We should have no heart to encourage native literature, did we not hope that it would become instinct with a new spirit. We cannot admit the thought, that this country is to be only a repetition of the old world. We delight to believe that God in the fulness of time, has brought a new continent to light, in order that the human mind should move here with a new freedom, should frame new social institutions, should explore new paths, and reap new harvests. We are accustomed to estimate nations by their creative energies, and we shall blush for our country, if, in circumstances so peculiar, original, and creative, it shall satisfy itself with a passive reception and mechanical reiteration of the thoughts of strangers.

We have now completed our remarks on the importance of a native literature. The next great topic is, the means of producing it ; and here our limits forbid us to enlarge ; yet we cannot pass it over in silence. A primary and essential means of the improvement of our literature, is, that, as a people, we should feel its value, should desire it, should demand it, should encourage it, and should give it a hearty welcome. It will come if called for, and under this conviction, we have now labored to create a want for it in the community. We say, that we must call for it ; by which we mean, not merely that we must invite it by good wishes and kind words, but must make liberal provision for intellectual education. We must enlarge our literary institutions, secure more extensive and profound teaching, and furnish helps and resources to men of superior talent for continued, laborious research. As yet, intellectual labor, devoted to a thorough investigation and a full development of great subjects, is almost unknown among us ; and without it, we shall certainly rear few lasting monuments of thought. We boast of our primary schools. We want universities worthy of the name, where a man of genius and literary zeal, may possess himself of

all that is yet known, and may strengthen himself by intercourse with kindred minds. We know it will be said, that we cannot afford these. But it is not so. We are rich enough for ostentation, for intemperance, for luxury. We can lavish millions on fashion, on furniture, on dress, on our palaces, on our pleasures; but we have nothing to spend for the mind. Where lies our poverty? In the purse, or in the soul?

We have spoken of improved institutions as essential to an improved literature. We beg, however, not to be misunderstood, as if these were invested with a creating power, or would necessarily yield the results which we desire. They are the means, not causes of advancement. Literature depends on individual genius, and this, though fostered, cannot be created by outward helps. No human mechanism can produce original thought. After all the attempts to explain by education the varieties of intellect, we are compelled to believe that minds, like all the other products of nature, have original and indestructible differences, that they are not exempted from that great and beautiful law, which joins with strong resemblances as strong diversities; and, of consequence, we believe, that the men, who are to be the lights of the world, bring with them their commission and power from God. Still, whilst institutions cannot create, they may and do unfold genius; and for want of them, great minds often slumber or run to waste, whilst a still larger class, who want genius, but possess admirable powers, fail of that culture, through which they might enjoy and approach their more gifted brethren.

A people, as we have said, are to give aid to literature by founding wise and enlarged institutions. They may do much more. They may exert a nobler patronage. By cherishing in their own breasts the love of truth, virtue, and freedom, they may do much to nurse and kindle genius in its favored possessors. There is a constant reaction between a community and the great minds which spring up within it, and they form one another. In truth, great minds are developed more by the spirit and character of the people to which they belong, than by all other causes. Thus, a free spirit, a thirst for new and higher knowledge in a community, does infinitely more for literature, than the most splendid benefactions under despotism. A nation under any powerful excitement, becomes fruitful of talent. Among a people called to discuss great questions, to contend for great interests,

to make great sacrifices for the public weal, we always find new and unsuspected energies of thought brought out. A mercenary, selfish, luxurious, sensual people, toiling only to secure the pleasures of sloth, will often communicate their own softness and baseness to the superior minds which dwell among them. In this impure atmosphere, the celestial spark burns dim, and well will it be, if God's great gift of genius be not impiously prostituted to lust and crime.

In conformity with the views now stated, we believe that literature is to be carried forward, here and elsewhere, chiefly by some new and powerful impulses communicated to society ; and it is a question naturally suggested by this discussion, from what impulse, principle, excitement, the highest action of the mind may now be expected. When we look back, we see that literature has been originated and modified by a variety of principles ; by patriotism and national feeling, by reverence for antiquity, by the spirit of innovation, by enthusiasm, by scepticism, by the passion for fame, by romantic love, and by political and religious convulsions. Now we do not expect from these causes, any higher action of the mind, than they have yet produced. Perhaps most of them have spent their force. The very improvements of society seem to forbid the manifestation of their former energy. For example the patriotism of antiquity and the sexual love of chivalrous ages, which inspired so much of the old literature, are now seen to be feverish and vicious excesses of natural principles, and have gone, we trust, never to return.

Are we asked then to what impulse or power, we look for a higher literature than has yet existed. We answer, to a new action or developement of the religious principle. This remark will probably surprise not a few of our readers. It seems to us, that the energy with which this principle is to act on the intellect, is hardly suspected. Men identify religion with superstition, with fanaticism, with the common forms of Christianity ; and seeing it arrayed against intellect, leagued with oppression, fettering inquiry, and incapable of being blended with the sacred dictates of reason and conscience, they see in its progress only new encroachments on free and enlightened thinking. Still, man's relation to God is the great quickening truth, throwing all other truths into insignificance, and a truth, which, however obscured and paralysed by the many errors which ignorance and fraud have hitherto linked with it, has ever been

a chief spring of human improvement. We look to it as the true life of the intellect. No man can be just to himself, can comprehend his own existence, can put forth all his powers with an heroic confidence, can deserve to be the guide and inspirer of other minds, till he has risen to communion with the Supreme Mind; till he feels his filial connexion with the Universal Parent; till he regards himself as the recipient and minister of the Infinite Spirit; till he feels his consecration to the ends which religion unfolds; till he rises above human opinion, and is moved by a higher impulse than fame.

From these remarks it will be seen, that our chief hopes of an improved literature, rest on our hopes of an improved religion. From the prevalent theology, which has come down to us from the dark ages, we hope nothing. It has done its best. All that can grow up under its sad shade, has already been brought forth. It wraps the Divine nature and human nature in impenetrable gloom. It overlays Christianity with technical, arbitrary dogmas. True faith is of another lineage. It comes from the same source with reason, conscience, and our best affections, and is in harmony with them all. True faith is essentially a moral conviction; a confidence in the reality and immutableness of moral distinctions; a confidence in disinterested virtue or in spiritual excellence as the supreme good; a confidence in God as its fountain and almighty friend, and in Jesus Christ as having lived and died to breathe it into the soul; a confidence in its power, triumphs, and immortality; a confidence, through which outward changes, obstructions, disasters, sufferings, are overcome, or rather made instruments of perfection. Such a faith, unfolded freely and powerfully, must 'work mightily' on the intellect as well as on practice. By revealing to us the supreme purpose of the Creator, it places us, as it were, in the centre of the universe, from which the harmonies, true relations, and brightest aspects of things are discerned. It unites calmness and enthusiasm, and the concord of these seemingly hostile elements is essential to the full and healthy action of the creative powers of the soul. It opens the eye to beauty and the heart to love. Literature, under this influence, will become more ingenuous and single-hearted; will penetrate farther into the soul; will find new interpretations of nature and life; will breathe a martyr's love of truth, tempered with a never failing charity; and, whilst sympathizing with all human suffering, will still be pervaded by a healthful cheerful-

ness, and will often break forth in tones of irrepressible joy, responsive to that happiness which fills God's universe.

We cannot close our remarks on the means of an improved literature, without offering one suggestion. We earnestly recommend to our educated men a more extensive acquaintance with the intellectual labors of continental Europe. Our reading is confined too much to English books, and especially to the more recent publications of Great Britain. In this we err. We ought to know the different modes of viewing and discussing great subjects in different nations. We should be able to compare the writings of the highest minds in a great variety of circumstances. Nothing can favor more our own intellectual independence and activity. Let English literature be ever so fruitful and profound, we should still impoverish ourselves by making it our sole nutriment. We fear, however, that at the present moment English books want much which we need. The intellect of that nation is turned now to what are called practical and useful subjects. Physical science goes forward, and what is very encouraging, it is spread with unexampled zeal through all classes of the community. Abuses of government, of the police, of the penal code, of charity, of poor laws, and corn laws are laboriously explored. General education is improved. Science is applied to the arts with brilliant success. We see much good in progress. But we find little profound or fervid thinking, expressed in the higher forms of literature. The noblest subjects of the intellect receive little attention. We see an almost total indifference to intellectual and moral science. In England there is a great want of philosophy, in the true sense of that word. If we examine her reviews, in which much of the intellectual power of the nation is expended, we meet perpetually a jargon of criticism, which shows a singular want of great and general principles in estimating works of art. We have no ethical work of any living English writer to be compared with that of Degerando, entitled, '*Du Moral Perfectionnement*;' and although we have little respect for the rash generalizations of the bold and eloquent Cousin, yet the interest which his metaphysics awaken in Paris, is in our estimation a better presage than the lethargy which prevails on such topics in England. In these remarks we have no desire to depreciate the literature of England, which, taken as a whole, we regard as the noblest monument of the human mind. We rejoice in our descent from England, and esteem our free access to her

works of science and genius, as among our high privileges. Nor do we feel as if her strength were spent. We see no wrinkles on her brow, no decrepitude in her step: At this moment she has authors, especially in poetry and fiction, whose names are 'familiar in our mouths as household words,' and who can never perish but with her language. Still we think, that at present her intellect is laboring more for herself than for mankind, and that our scholars, if they would improve our literature, should cultivate an intimacy not only with that of England, but of continental Europe.

We have now finished our remarks on the importance and means of an improved literature among ourselves. Are we asked what we hope in this particular. We answer, much. We see reasons for anticipating an increased and more efficient direction of talent to this object. But on these we cannot enlarge. There is, however, one ground of expectation, to which we will call a moment's attention. We apprehend that literature is to make progress through an important change in society, which civilization and good institutions are making more and more apparent. It seems to us that, through these causes, political life is less and less regarded as the only or chief sphere for superior minds, and that influence and honor are more and more accumulated in the hands of literary and thinking men. Of consequence more and more of the intellect of communities is to be drawn to literature. The distinction between antiquity and the present times, in respect to the importance attached to political life, seems to us striking; and it is not an accidental difference, but founded on permanent causes which are to operate with increased power. In ancient times, everything abroad and at home, threw men upon the public, and generated an intense thirst for political power. On the contrary, the improvements of later periods incline men to give importance to literature. For example, the instability of the ancient republics, the unsettled relations of the different classes of society, the power of demagogues and orators, the intensity of factions, the want of moral and religious restraints, the want of some regular organ for expressing the public mind, the want of precedents and precise laws for the courts of justice, these and other circumstances gave to the ancient citizen a feeling as if revolutions and convulsions were inseparable from society, turned his mind with unremitting anxiety to

public affairs, and made a participation of political power an important, if not an essential means of personal safety.—Again, the ancient citizen had no home, in our sense of the word. He lived in the market, the forum, the place of general resort, and of course his attention was very much engrossed by affairs of state.—Again, religion, which now more than all things, throws a man upon himself, was in ancient times a public concern, and turned men to political life. The religion of the heart and closet was unknown. The relation of the gods to particular states, was their most prominent attribute, and to conciliate their favor to the community the chief end of worship. Accordingly religion consisted chiefly in public and national rites. In Rome the highest men in the state presided at the altar, and adding to their other titles that of Supreme Pontiff, performed the most solemn functions of the priesthood. Thus the whole strength of the religious principle was turned into political channels. The gods were thought to sustain no higher office than a political one, and of consequence this was esteemed the most glorious for men.—Once more, in ancient times political rank was vastly more efficient, whether for good or for evil, than at present, and of consequence was the object of a more insatiable ambition. It was almost the only way of access to the multitude. The public man held a sway over opinion, over his country, perhaps over foreign states, now unknown. It is the influence of the press and of good institutions to reduce the importance of the man of office. In proportion as private individuals can act on the public mind; in proportion as a people read, think, and have the means of expressing and enforcing their opinions; in proportion as laws become fixed, known, and sanctioned by the moral sense of the community; in proportion as the interests of the state, the principles of administration, and all public measures, are subjected to free and familiar discussion, government becomes a secondary influence. The power passes into the hands of those who think, write, and spread their minds far and wide. Accordingly literature is to become more and more the instrument of swaying men, of doing good, of achieving fame. The contrast between ancient and modern times, in the particulars now stated, is too obvious to need illustration, and our great inference is equally clear. The vast improvements, which in the course of ages have taken place in social order, in domestic life, in religion, in knowledge, all conspire

to one result, all tend to introduce other and higher influences than political power, and to give to that form of intellectual effort, which we call literature, dominion over human affairs. Thus truth, we apprehend, is more and more felt, and from its influence, joined with our peculiar condition and free institutions, we hope for our country the happiness and glory of a pure, deep, rich, beautiful, and ennobling literature.

ART. II.—*The Christian Duty of Granting the Claims of the Roman Catholics. With a Postscript, in Answer to the Letters of the Rev. G. S. Faber.* By THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D. Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1829.

THE removal of some restraints and liabilities from the Catholics of England, is there considered as an astonishing triumph of liberality and wisdom ; and the Minister who ventured so hazardous an experiment, is thought to have given a character of moral dignity and improvement, not to his administration only, but the age.

Americans, when their attention is drawn to this subject, must necessarily feel stronger attachment to the institutions of their country. For what is this mighty achievement, this new and enlightened policy, but a copy in some faint degree, and towards one class of Englishmen, of the fundamental principles of our Federal Constitution, which extends to all citizens of every religious denomination, a perfect equality of political rights ?

That the measure should have been so long delayed, strikes us with more astonishment than that it should have been finally accomplished. To our minds, accustomed to the free and liberal doctrines of a popular government, it appears to be a matter of private and personal right, rather than one of political expediency. We have been accustomed to consider the conscience and faith of man above and beyond the lawful regulations of civil government. It has been our habit to consider, that every man has an inherent right to worship God according to his own sentiments of propriety and duty, and that with the exercise of this right government has no authority to interfere, and can interfere only by the exercise of an odious and disgusting tyranny.

When any class of the christian community has been suffering under the restraints of political power, it has commanded our sympathy ; and when the bonds that held it are broken, we rejoice. But we rejoice as with men, who have acquired their natural and inherent rights, and not as if there had been conferred upon them a gratuitous and unmerited favor. We exult in the improved condition of a single individual over whose faith the secular arm relaxes its authority ; who is permitted to walk forth under the control only of his own judgment, and the guidance, which, by God's grace, he may derive from the revelation of the divine will ; and although his mode of faith is not ours, although in the exercise of his own faculties he adopts opinions and conforms to articles and acknowledges powers and joins in creeds from which our sober judgment wholly dissents, yet the weight of artificial forms is removed from his mind ; the strong rays of truth are permitted to throw their cheering influence on his heart. He may follow its direction when he can understand it ; and sooner or later he will understand it. Error will be done away, or greatly diminished. Without indulging expectations too sanguine ; without supposing that men may sit still with folded arms, and grow better and wiser by the progress of time ; without denying that energy and exertion and labor are required to urge on the progress and triumph of truth, we do yet believe that it is destined to enlarge its empire, and to prevail, if not universally and entirely, yet vastly beyond its present boundaries. The purity and simplicity of the gospel dispensation, the message of love and peace and charity and good will, must be seen and felt and known ; and the first step toward this grand consummation, is the destruction of all human authority, which impiously places itself between the Creator and his children,—the overthrow of that despotism, which controls the human mind, of that usurped power, which, arrogating the place of divine revelation, undertakes to command obedience and to regulate man's duty to God, his highest and principal duty, by paltry considerations of political expediency.

To a certain extent and over one portion of English subjects, this assumed power has been modified, and 'the emancipation of the Catholics' is now a favorite subject of exultation, in which, if we are not greatly mistaken, may be discovered quite

as much of the triumph of party as regard for religious freedom and liberty of conscience.

Indeed, in the elaborate arguments by which the ministerial measures were defended, we are at a loss to discover any stress laid on the only ground which could be interesting to a christian community, and we have some doubt whether the leaders and favorers of the plan would be pleased to have any such imputed to them. Emancipation was not granted as a matter of right, but of favor. It was not granted with any regard to christian principles, but with reference solely to political expediency. It was proposed, not to extend religious liberty, but to strengthen the power of government; not to bring converts to the cross, but subjects to the crown. The Catholics had grown strong and numerous and powerful. They had become restive and factious under the oppression which ground them to the earth. They were outcasts and aliens on their own soil. Instead of adding, by their population and physical force, to the strength of the empire, they leaned with mighty weight upon its pillars and threatened its destruction. Their affections were alienated, and a sullen spirit of discontent either broke out into bold acts of insubordination, or accumulated angry elements for future eruption. They grew wiser and better instructed in their condition and rights. They began to perceive that government was a human institution, which ought to have for its object the happiness of its subjects, and that if it threw a line of circumvalation around the whole of their fraternity and excluded them from its benefits, it forfeited, so far as they were concerned, all title to allegiance. It became, therefore, the duty of a wise statesman to coerce or conciliate them. He was required to put down opposition or disarm it. He was obliged either to compel submission under the existing laws, by a force constantly exerted and too great for resistance, or to take away the desire of resistance, and render the Catholics good and loyal subjects, by granting them the privileges for which they were contending. The former had been the current of state policy, but rivers of blood had flowed on the scaffold and in the field, and done nothing towards destroying the earnest wishes of their hearts. The other course was attempted, and for a time at least, with success. Their claims are partially accorded to them, and the exultation it excites drowns all minor subjects of uneasiness. The murmurs of those who

opposed this measure of policy, are lost in the general joy which reverberates through the empire.

The literature of the country partakes of the coloring of the times, and the *Edinburgh Review*, which so often doled out its lugubrious notes over the miserable condition of the Catholics, when the minister of the day was not the favorite of their party, now swells its cathedral chant to bolder music, and substitutes for the inspiration of genius an extravagance that is little less than delirium. With what appears to us to be a singular misnomer, it gives to its latest lucubration the title of the *Last of the Catholic Question*; * as if now all controversy were at an end; as if now all parties were satisfied; as if peace, tranquillity, and confidence were restored; as if, after this grand effort for conciliation, there were nothing further to be done for the conscience or the faith of men; as if justice were satisfied and liberality exhausted, and as if not only the dominant party had nothing more to give, but no other party had anything more to require.

We shall be surprised if the matter is so easily disposed of; first, because this emancipation, to adopt the popular phrase, was a merely political measure, and not dictated by that religious, and of course liberal temper, which could alone direct it with advantage. Hence it is, that, although some restraints are removed, and some disqualifications taken off, others still remain as badges of inferiority, and incentives to distrust and resentment. Instead of resting on the broad principles of religious freedom, the laws, as we have said, were framed on the narrower basis of political expediency, and stopped in their grants, precisely at the point where it was supposed that power in the hands of the government might be preserved. The emancipation, as it is called, is therefore no emancipation at all. Some advantages no doubt follow to some individuals from the new condition of things; but equality of rank and rights is not yet restored to the Catholic, and the Pharisaical spirit of the established hierarchy, still says to him, in the very letter of the existing laws, 'Stand off, come not near me, I am holier than thou.' A Catholic is now excluded from the universities, sundry high offices and other places accessible to Protestant subjects. And why? Simply for his religious faith. His mind is clearer than it was before, but its poisonous ingredients are not

* *Ed. Review*, No. 97, page 218.

entirely worked off. There is still a leaven of unrighteousness to mark his evil character. There is a dividing and impassable line between him and his fellow subjects, as broad and as well defined as ever ; and the fact that such a line exists, and not the point of its position, is calculated to produce jealousy, uneasiness, and disaffection.

It may be asked whether in prudence more could have been done. Whether a wise statesman would have been justified in taking a wider leap. Whether the stability of the government and the permanency of the indulgence accorded to the Catholics, would not have been jeopardized by any more liberal concession, and if so, whether complaint is not as impolitic as ungrateful and captious.

All that is implied in such questions we readily admit. That it would be hazardous to the English government to have made a wider departure from its ancient system, and that the *civil policy* of that which has been done may be defended, we do not deny. And it is this very subject to which we are desirous of drawing the attention of our readers, not to excite in them any ill feeling, most certainly, toward the English Constitution, but by the comparison to warm their admiration and strengthen their confidence in their own.

The evils heretofore complained of by the English Catholics, the danger to be apprehended from whatever has been done in their favor, and the hazard of a precedent of which other classes as well as Catholics may claim the benefit, result absolutely from a fundamental provision of the British Constitution ; to wit, the existence of an ecclesiastical establishment connected with the civil power of the state. This establishment was eminently Catholic, while the authority of the Pope pervaded Christendom. It was changed at the Reformation ; not, indeed, because the monarch or his court were Protestants, but because the forms of the new system better comported with his power and policy. The character of Henry VIII. forbids us to imagine that this alteration of the national religion proceeded from any real change of faith or conviction of judgment. Whether professing to be Catholic or Protestant, he had no religion at all. For temporal convenience and the gratification of iniquitous passions, he chose to change the nominal and political character of his creed, and the nation was obliged to change with him. Under several successive reigns the bigotry or fanaticism or convenience of the monarch, changed and rechang-

ed the national religion, until at length, under the House of Brunswick, the Protestant faith has become the creed of the empire.

Wherever there is a national religion established by law, the professors of it must enjoy some special prerogatives or favor. The consequence seems legitimately to follow from the fact. If the law may establish faith as it can regulate actions, and direct as well what a man may believe, as what he shall do, conformity to such law necessarily deserves reward, and contumacy requires punishment. It would otherwise be without a sanction, and of course a dead letter. The right to punish a violation of such law, if the law be justly enacted, is as perfect as in the case of any other law; and the quantity and severity of punishment is to be regulated in this, precisely as in other cases, by considerations of expediency and political advantage.

But governments, even the most despotic, have been too sensible of the injustice of the main position, to follow its consequences as far as they might be legitimately carried, and while they have maintained their abstract right, have modified its exercise. Hence toleration to some extent has been granted. The professors of a faith not established by law, have not of late times been burned or slaughtered or banished. No such violent and ancient penalties have been awarded against them. They have been permitted to indulge themselves in their own peculiarities under some restraints or impositions or taxations, more or less severe, as the government judged advisable. Now this very idea of toleration, is, next to persecution, most unjust and offensive. For what is toleration but a permission by government, to exercise that religious faith, which, without such permission, is not to be exercised? It implies a power in the civil magistrate to grant, and therefore to refuse to grant; to permit at his pleasure, and therefore to restrain. This very power, in the view of our more liberal frame of government, is in itself a persecution, less excessive in degree, but as objectionable in practice, as that which lighted the flames of martyrdom and erected scaffolds and gibbets.

But the most liberal toleration must make some discrimination between the members of the national establishment, and those whom it tolerates in the belief of what it unavoidably considers as erroneous; and this difference must be measured, either

by punishments and penalties for the one, or rewards and distinctions in favor of the other.

The consequence is, that parties are formed among the subjects of a state, with regard to their religious sentiments. So long, however, as the minor party is exceedingly small, and with little influence or wealth or physical power, or is too ignorant to understand very fully the nature of its rights, or is too indifferent to contend for them, the machinery of the state is not disturbed, and the power of the oppressor, like multitudes of other evils which there are no means to redress, must be borne in silence. But there is a light beaming in darkness. There is a power above the artificial contrivances of human society, which speaks to the hearts of men. There is a growing and animating intelligence, which is extending and improving the mind, and instructing it in its duties and its rights. This principle is abroad in the world, and we have an example of its incipient power among the people of England.

The Catholics are probably not so numerous at present, as they were in the earlier years of the present dynasty. They have not now more eminent or influential men to lead them. The injustice they were lately suffering was not greater than they had formerly suffered, and their complaints and resistance and menaces, though constantly carried to the foot of the throne, were not more formidable than when they were spurned at with contempt. The power of the government was the same as it ever had been, and in the opinion of the late monarch, and by the declaration of a late probable successor to the crown, was, by all the solemnity of a coronation oath, to be exerted against any relaxation of its claims. Nevertheless the fundamental provisions of the laws have been changed. A new and unheard of liberality has been exerted. The Catholic has not only gained, in some degree, what he demanded, but the Protestant has yielded readily and generously to his views. The impolicy of the general doctrine of a national religion, has been so far admitted as to give some hope that the doctrine itself may one day be abandoned, and that which is now, with some profusion of gratitude, called emancipation, may become so in fact.

We confess our gratification on this subject is quite as much founded on the hopes it encourages, as in the results that have been already accomplished. There are other classes of Christians, struggling under the embarrassments of opposition to the

established hierarchy, and anticipating the future benefit of this magnanimous precedent, with whom our sympathies are naturally stronger than they can be with the Catholics. The Dissenters, whether Baptists, Methodists, or Unitarians, are severely pressed by the operation of laws quite as burdensome to them as any under which the Catholics were sufferers. They are in the Lord's keeping, and we trust that in progress of time the bonds which hold them will be broken, and that they will enjoy the same liberty of conscience which is secured to their fellow Christians in the United States.

If the melioration of the laws in regard to Catholics, had sprung from a principle of religious duty, and a prevailing sense of the injustice of exercising civil powers over the consciences of men, entire freedom would have been extended to all sects of Dissenters. If these Dissenters had now the same concentration of power and influence, which the Catholics had, their claims would be equally respected; but having only the eternal law of justice and equity, they cannot prevail at a tribunal, which merely regards policy and expediency, and the maintenance of civil power, and the supremacy of the crown.

In the evils of past times, and in the remedy of the present, which is a manifest encroachment on the fundamental principles of the church establishment, we have an admonitory lesson of the danger of connecting the religious institutions of a people with the authority of government. A recent traveller in our country, fails to gather this lesson as the fruit of experience among us, and has left on record his deliberate expression of dissatisfaction that there is no connexion here between church and state. Few Americans join in such a sentiment, but it may be inquired, with some anxiety, how far the spirit of secular authority is seen in the conduct of any of our religious partisans. The power of our government is in the people and the institutions established by them; and to excite the passions of the people against any religious community, or to exasperate the people against ancient institutions for nonconformity of doctrine, what is it but the manifestation of a spirit, which wants only the sword of the magistrate to exercise as stern a severity? A spirit of exclusiveness, of denunciation, a denial of the christian name and the christian character to whole classes of men who profess to be believers in the gospel of salvation, what is this but carrying to its extremest bounds, all the existing power

of a party, and giving evidence, that, if more could be obtained, it would all be unsparingly exercised? If in the halls of legislation political measures are decided in reference to religious faith; if in elections to places of political trust peculiarities of doctrine and abstract opinions in theology, are publicly set up as qualifications for suffrage; if intolerance is carried into the common relations of society, and men are to be dealt with in their several trades, occupations, or professions, not according to their capacity or honesty, but according to the sect to which they belong and the forms under which they worship, what is wanting, in point of will, towards incorporating the civil and ecclesiastical power, and giving a death blow to religious liberty? Is it not done, as far as it may be done under our free Constitutions? Is it not to be discountenanced and reprobated by every one who feels a pride in the institutions of the Republic, and wishes them to be secure and permanent?

ART. III.—*Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr.* By JOHN, Bishop of Lincoln, and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. Cambridge and London. 1829. 8vo. pp. 219.

In some observations on Justin, in a preceding number, we pointed out what we conceive to be his principal defects as a writer; defects, however, which, as we intimated, are chargeable chiefly on the times. Of his opinions we treated only incidentally, for the purpose of illustrating his intellectual character and habits. We now proceed to state his sentiments respecting some important points of theology; and first, with regard to the *logos*, or divine nature of Christ, as it is called. On this subject he has expressed himself much at length, and though he is occasionally somewhat obscure and mystical, a careful examination of the several terms and illustrations he employs, leaves little doubt as to his real meaning. His system presents one or two great and prominent features, about which we can hardly be mistaken, and which will serve as the basis of our future reasonings. Before we proceed to our citations, however, we must request our readers to bear in mind, that both Jews and Heathens constantly alleged the humble ori-

gin and ignominious death of Jesus as a reproach on Christianity. Other sects borrowed lustre from the names of their founders. But the 'new superstition,' as it was called, which now began widely to diffuse itself, was derived, as it was urged, from an obscure individual, who perished as a malefactor, with every mark of dishonor. This reproach the Christians of Justin's time, unlike Paul, who gloried in what was 'to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness,' began to be desirous of wiping off. It was with acknowledged reference to such a state of feeling, on the part of Christians, and the objections urged by their adversaries, that Justin expresses himself, in substance, as follows.

In the beginning, before all creatures, God begat of himself a certain rational power, which by the Holy Spirit is sometimes called the glory of the Lord, now Son, now wisdom, now angel, now God, now Lord, and *logos* (reason, wisdom, or speech); for he has all these appellations, because he ministers to the will of the Father, and by the will of the Father was begotten. To explain this process of generation, Justin takes the examples of human speech and of fire. For in uttering speech (*logos*), he says, we beget speech; yet not by abscission, nor so that the speech (*logos*), that is in us, or power of speech, or reason whence speech proceeds, is by this act diminished. So, too, one torch is lighted from another, without diminishing that from which it is lighted, but the latter remaining unaltered, that which is lighted from it exists and appears, without lessening that whence it was lighted. These are intended to be illustrations of the mode in which the Son is produced from the Father. In confirmation of his views, Justin quotes, from the Septuagint Version, the passage in Proverbs,* in which wisdom, by which he supposes is meant the Son, is represented as saying, 'The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways to his works,—before the ages he founded me, in the beginning, before he made the earth, or the abyss,—before the hills, he begat me.' This wisdom Justin regarded as God's offspring, produced as above described, and him, this first of his productions, he supposes God to address, when he says, Gen. i. 26, 'Let us make man in our own image.' †

Language, corresponding to the above, occurs in the first Apology, with an additional observation worthy of notice.—

* Prov. viii. 21-36.

† Dial. 158, 159. Thirlb. 266, 268.

Christ is the first-born of God, and that reason (*logos*), of which the whole human race partakes ; and those who have lived according to reason are Christians, though esteemed Atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates and Heraclitus, and among the barbarians, Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, and Elias, and many others.* So, in the second Apology, we are told that Socrates acknowledged Christ, in part ; for he is that reason (*logos*), which is in all, † and which, together with the writings of the Hebrew prophets, also inspired by it, suggested to the Gentile philosophers whatever correct views they entertained concerning the Deity. He calls it the 'insown' or 'implanted' *logos*, or reason, of the seed of which all possess some portion. These, and other equivalent expressions, occur more than once. They seem intended to refer to a principle different from the ordinary faculty of reason in man ; that is, to a peculiarly existing *logos*, or reason, which has in its nature something divine, being derived immediately from God by emanation. This *logos* was Christ, who afterwards became flesh ; it guided Abraham and the patriarchs, inspired the prophets ; and the seed of it being implanted, as just said, in every mind, all, as well illiterate as philosophers, who in former ages obeyed its impulse, were partakers of Christ, the Son of God, and might therefore be called Christians, and as such were entitled to salvation. ‡

That Justin believed this divine principle of reason to be converted into a real being, the following passage, among numerous others, plainly and expressly shows. There are some, he says, who suppose that the Son is only a virtue or energy of the Father, emitted as occasion requires and then again recalled, as for example, when it comes to announce the commands of the Father, and is therefore called a messenger, or when it bears the Father's discourse to men, and is then called *logos*. They, as he observes, think that the Son is inseparable from the Father, as the light of the sun on the earth is inseparable from the sun, which is in the heavens, and is withdrawn with it at its setting. But from these, he tells us, he differs. Angels have a separate and permanent existence ; so this virtue, which the prophetic spirit calls God and angel, is not, as the light of the sun, to be distinguished from the Father in name only, but is something numerically different ; that is, it is not

* p. 71.

† p. 95.

‡ See Brucker, T. III. pp. 374, 375.

the Father under another name, but a real being, wholly distinct from him.*

Justin frequently draws comparisons and illustrations from the Heathen mythology. The following, in which Mercury is introduced, presents a coincidence of language a little remarkable. When we say that Jesus Christ, our teacher, was the *logos*, the first progeny of God, born without commixtion, that he was crucified, and died, and arose, and ascended into heaven, we affirm nothing very different from what is said by you of the sons of Jove. You know how many sons your esteemed writers attribute to him. There is Mercury, the *interpreting logos*, and *teacher of all*, and Æsculapius, and Bacchus, and the rest.†

Again, speaking of the generation of the Son, he says, When we call him the *logos* of God, born of him in a peculiar manner, and out of the course of ordinary births, we speak a common language with you, who call Mercury the *angelic logos* from God.‡

From the extracts above given, it is evident, that although Justin employs the term *logos* in different senses, the primary meaning he usually attributes to it, when used with reference to God, is that of reason, considered as an attribute of the Father,—and that, by the generation of the Son, he understood the conversion of this attribute into a real person. The *logos*, which afterwards became flesh, originally existed in God, as his reason, or perhaps his wisdom or energy. Having so existed from eternity, it was, a little before the creation of the world, voluntarily begotten, thrown out, or emitted, by the Father, or proceeded from him; for these terms are used indiscriminately to express the generation of the Son, or the process by which what before was a quality, acquired a distinct personal subsistence. That such was the doctrine of Justin, and of the Ante-Nicene Fathers generally, concerning the generation of the Son, the whole strain of their writings affords abundant evidence. They supposed, we repeat, that the *logos*, or reason, which once constituted an attribute of the Father, was at length converted into a real being, and that this was done by a voluntary act of the Father. To this process they applied the term generation, and sometimes of emission or prolation, nor do they appear originally to have objected to that of creation.

* Dial. p. 221. Thirlb. pp. 312, 413.

† Apol. I. p. 56. Thirlb. p. 31.

‡ Ibid. p. 57. Thirlb. p. 33.

The enquiry now presents itself, whence were these views, which evidently constitute the germ of the trinity, derived? From the Jewish and Christian scriptures, or from the doctrines of Plato, as expounded by his later followers? We say, without hesitation, the latter. The term *logos*, which Justin and the other Fathers use to express the divine nature of the Son, frequently occurs, as our learned readers well know, in the Septuagint Version of the Hebrew scriptures, and is rendered in our bibles by *word*. But neither the original Hebrew term, nor the corresponding term, *logos*, in the Septuagint, ever bears the meaning which these Fathers attach to it, but is used in a totally different sense; nor do we find, in the whole bible, the least trace of the generation of the Son, by the conversion of an attribute of the Father into a real person. One of the passages adduced by Justin, as sanctioning his views of the preexistence, and agency of the *logos*, Son, or rational power, produced as above described, is the following. 'By the *word* of the Lord were the heavens made;' by which, as he tells us, the Psalmist meant that they were made by the rational power, or Son, of which we speak. The expressions in Proverbs, 'The Lord created me in the beginning of his way,'—'before the depths he begat me,'—were adduced as referring to his birth, or production. Numerous other expressions, occurring in the Old Testament, may be referred to the same class, and were explained in a similar manner. But the Jews attributed no such meaning to the language in question, nor does it appear naturally fitted to suggest it. The notions it conveyed to their minds were very simple and obvious. The sentiments of the Fathers savoured of a metaphysical and speculative philosophy, evidently the growth of a different soil. The Jews were not familiar with the abstractions of philosophy, as their current phraseology bears ample testimony. They describe the perfections and agency of the Divine Being, in precisely the language which we should expect would occur to the minds of an exceedingly primitive, and in some respects, rude people. They resort, as was natural, chiefly to comparisons and images borrowed from sensible objects and human modes of action. Their views were very little spiritualized, and many of the expressions they employed in reference to the Deity, were strictly anthropomorphitcal.

We will explain our meaning by a few examples, in which the attributes and agency of God are illustrated by allusions,

which, to us, familiar as we are with the sublimer discoveries of Christianity, and the improvements of modern science, appear feeble and inadequate. Thus, to convey a notion of his eternity, they speak of him as existing before the hills.* To aid the imagination in comprehending his immensity and greatness, they are content to draw illustrations from human sovereignty. They represent him as a mighty king, having the heavens for his throne, and the earth for his footstool. To give some conception of his power, his universal presence, and knowledge embracing all objects, they describe him as having human organs, as hands, eyes, and ears, ever active and vigilant. His eyes run to and fro over the whole earth; his arm is outstretched to punish or to save; he whets his sword, he bends his bow, he discharges the swift arrows of his wrath. When he wishes to know what is passing on earth, he is exhibited to our view as descending from a height above us; thus, 'the Lord came down to see the tower, which the children of men builded.'† Again, hearing reports of the wickedness of Sodom, he resolves to 'go down,' and ascertain whether they are correct, 'and if not,' he is introduced as saying, 'I will know.'‡ He is described as walking abroad, and conversing familiarly with man; as having human passions and affections, as repenting and grieved for what he had done, as angry and taking revenge, as laughing at the distresses of his enemies, as mocking and deriding. In consistency with this language, which ascribes to him human organs, affections, and modes of action, he is represented, when about to exert his power, or produce an effect he wills, as *speaking*, or issuing his *word*, or command. Thus, in the process of creation, he is introduced as proclaiming an order at every step. 'Let there be light,—Let there be a firmament,—Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear,—Let us make man.' Everything is said to be done by a command, because human sovereigns are accustomed to issue a *word*, or order, when they wish their designs to be carried into effect. In conformity with this usage, the Psalmist says, 'By the *word* of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth. He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast.'§

* Souverain, c. iv.

† Ib. xviii. 21.

† Gen. xi. 5.

§ Psalm xxxiii. 6, 9.

In all this there is no mystery.* God issues his command, or his *word*, and it is executed, and the heavens and the earth appear; that is, he produces an effect; there is an exertion of his power; he wills, and the event corresponds to his will. Here is no allusion to any intermediate agent; to a Son, who receives and executes his commands; a rational power, emanating from his own substance, and forming a link between him and his creatures. All this is a fiction of later times.

Such is the meaning of the term *word*, or *word of the Lord*, as used by Moses, the Patriarchs, and by David. The notion the Jews attached to it, was the simplest and most obvious imaginable. There is no obscurity whatever attending it. The term formed part of their anthropomorphitcal language, and is to be classed with other terms constantly used by them in reference to the Deity; as hands, mouth, nostrils, all of which they apply to him. A similar explanation is to be given of the term when it occurs in such phrases as the following; 'The word of God came to Nathan,' or to the prophets. This is a mere idiom of speech, growing out of the very primitive notions of the people who employed it. It was not the result of policy or reflection, but rather of untutored and childlike simplicity. The meaning is simply, that the prophets received divine communications. The apostle very correctly expresses this meaning, when he says, 'holy men of God spake as moved by the Holy Ghost;' that is, by a divine impulse.†

Let us now proceed to the Proverbs, or the ethical writings of the Old Testament. Justin and the other Fathers, as before stated, imagined that by wisdom, of which we have a magnificent description in the eighth chapter of Proverbs, was meant the *logos*, or Son, a real being, the agent or minister of the Father, in the work of creation.‡ But the author of the chapter in question, had evidently no such thought. Nothing, in

* All the effects of his provident designs, every occurrence, which takes place by his remote agency, is spoken of in similar language. Thus, 'He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth; his word runneth very swiftly. He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes. He sendeth out his word and melteth them.' Psalm cxlviii. 15, 16, 18.

† 2 Pet. i. 21.

‡ Dr Watts once supposed that by wisdom, in this place, was meant Christ's preexistent human soul united with the divine nature. (Glory of Christ, Dis. iii. § 5.) He was led into a belief of this strange doctrine of the preexistence of Christ's human soul, from the circumstance, that the scriptures in several passages, in which, as he supposes, they speak of his existence before his incarnation, evidently ascribe to him a nature inferior to God. We are not surprised that Dr Watts, entertaining these views, afterwards became a Unitarian.

fact, was further from his meaning, as the whole structure and connexion of the passage puts beyond doubt. The Oriental imagination, as every one knows, delighted in metaphor and bold and striking imagery. The strongest figures were often employed to express a very obvious and simple fact or sentiment, and among these a favorite one was personification, by which abstract qualities are clothed with the properties of a real being, and represented as speaking and acting as such. This figure frequently occurs in the sacred writings of the Jews, particularly in their poetical books. Thus, truth, justice, mercy, and other abstract properties, are often introduced as possessing proper personality; in other words, as real beings; as, 'Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the earth; and Righteousness shall look down from heaven.'* By the same lively figure, the author of the Proverbs gives Wisdom a voice, and represents her as offering counsel and admonition, and calling on men to listen; and to show her title to respect, she proceeds to describe her antiquity and excellence; speaks of herself as guiding the great and noble of the earth, as having her residence of old with God, as one brought up with him, and rejoicing always in his presence. The purport of this language, no one, at the present day, mistakes. All admit it to be only a bold personification of the attribute of wisdom, as it is possessed by the Divine Being, and, in a feebler degree, by his intelligent offspring; in other words, only a well known rhetorical figure.† Such language could never have suggested to the early Fathers their peculiar views of the *logos*, or Son of God. That they should have considered it as having reference to him, after those views had been imbibed from other sources, however, need not surprise us. So, too, they conceived that the generation of the Son was alluded to in the first verse of the fortyfifth Psalm, in our English bibles—'My heart is inditing a good matter;' but, as it stands in the Version of the Seventy, the only medium through which they were acquainted with the books of the Old Testament,—'My heart threw out a good *logos*.'

* Psalm lxxxv. 10, 11.

† Similar instances of personification occur in the literature of all nations, and are resorted to occasionally by the gravest writers. Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, (B. I. § 16,) has a specimen of it, remarkable for its beauty. Speaking of law, he says, 'Her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very east as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempt from her power.'

If we proceed to examine the writings of the Jews, which belong to a period subsequent to the formation of the sacred canon, and which, though not of authority as a rule of faith, are yet valuable as a record of opinions, we arrive at conclusions similar to the foregoing. We find instances of bold personification, but discover no traces of the metaphysical doctrine of the *logos*, or generation of the Son, as held by the early christian Fathers.*

The Chaldee Paraphrasts are sometimes quoted as furnishing an example of the application of a term corresponding to *logos*, or word of God, to the Son. But this argument is met by the observation, that the expression alluded to, constitutes only an idiom of language, and is to be viewed in the same light as the *Numen Jovis*, or *Numen Junonis* of the Latins, and that it is intended to refer to God himself, or to his operations, and not a being distinct from him.

If we turn to the authors of the Gospels and the Epistles of the New Testament, we find, that their views agree, in all essential points, with those inculcated by the writers under the old dispensation. Their language and conceptions are more spiritualized and refined. There is less of grossness in their modes of representing the Deity. Still, much of the ancient phraseology is retained, and where a departure is made from it, this departure is not such as indicates that the opinions of the Jews, or Jewish Christians, concerning the divine nature and operations, had undergone that change, which the supposition of their belief in the doctrine of the generation

* Thus, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, the work of some Alexandrine Jew, though he sometimes uses expressions which savour a little of the Egyptian school, had evidently no conception of the conversion of an attribute into a real being. After speaking of Wisdom as 'the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence, flowing from the glory of the Almighty—the unspotted mirror of the power of God, an image of his goodness,' he proceeds, (chap. viii. 3, 4,) 'In that she is conversant with God, she magnifieth her nobility. For she is privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God, and a lover of his works.' In a prayer, recorded in the next chapter, the following expressions occur:—'O God of my fathers, and Lord of mercy, who hast made all things with thy word, and ordained man through thy wisdom,—give me Wisdom that sitteth by thy throne.—And Wisdom was with thee, which knoweth thy works, and was present when thou madest the world. O send her out of thy holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory.' Chap. ix. 1, 4, 9, 10. Again, the Son of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, xxiv. 3, 4, 9,) introduces Wisdom as saying, 'I came out of the mouth of the Most High, He created me from the beginning, before the world. I dwell in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar.' But who does not see, that these instances are only specimens of the style, in which the Oriental genius, ever fond of glowing representations, metaphor, and fiction, is accustomed to give utterance to its thoughts?

of the Son, as explained by the Fathers, would imply, but the reverse. The New Testament, if we except the introductory verses to John's Gospel, is remarkably free from expressions which have the least appearance of favoring the metaphysical notions of these Fathers concerning the nature of the Son, and those verses, as we shall hereafter show, favor them only in appearance. The remaining part of the Gospels and Epistles, that is, the whole New Testament with the exception of a fragment of a chapter, is, in our view, totally opposed to those notions and everything resembling them. The language of Jesus and his apostles certainly never could have suggested them, and the general strain of it cannot, by the greatest exercise of ingenuity, be distorted into a shape which lends them the feeblest support. To those who doubt the truth of this statement, we would say, Take the language of Justin, as we have represented it, faithfully as we believe; render your minds familiar with it, and then sit down and read over carefully the writings of the apostles and evangelists, you will rise from the perusal, we are confident, with a firm conviction, that, with the exception above made, no trace of such language is found in those writings, and that they could not possibly have been the source whence it was derived. This conviction, we think, must force itself upon the mind of every one, who, without prejudice, compares the style of the authors of the New Testament, with that of Justin and subsequent Fathers, who trod in his steps. He must be struck with the total dissimilarity between the two classes of writings, not a dissimilarity in modes of expression merely, but a real dissimilarity, or rather opposition, of sentiment. The plain inference is, that the Fathers alluded to, drew from other sources besides the bible, and that they suffered their learning to corrupt the simplicity of their faith.*

This inference derives support from the fact, that the com-

* It may be said, possibly, that there is a class of passages in the New Testament which favor the doctrine of the Fathers that God employed the Son as his agent in forming the universe. We refer to those, they are very few, in which the following language, or something like it, occurs. 'By whom he also made the worlds,' or ages, Heb. i. 2.—'For by him,' that is Jesus as an instrument, 'were all things created,' Colos. i. 16. These and similar phrases, however, very evidently refer to that new and spiritual creation, that moral renovation, which it was the great design of Christianity to effect. That they do not refer to the creation of the material world, appears obvious from the fact, that the current language of both the Old and New Testament, ascribes this creation immediately to God, the maker, preserver, and governor of the universe.

positions attributed to the apostolic Fathers, those especially of which the antiquity can be ascertained with any approach to certainty, afford no countenance to the opinions, the origin and history of which we are examining. These compositions, several of them at least, give evidence that their authors were somewhat infected with that fondness for allegory, far fetched conceits, and forced and mystical interpretations, which Philo and other Jews had acquired in the Egyptian schools; but we search them in vain for those views of the *logos*, or Son, a personified attribute of the Father, so prominent in the writings of the philosophical converts to Christianity. The sentiments they utter, when divested of their allegorical dress, though not in all respects conformable to the representations of the scriptures, afford certainly no specimens of the metaphysical doctrines, which gained a footing in the church during the second and third centuries. We speak now of those parts of the productions in question not manifestly spurious. Take as an instance Clemens' first Epistle to the Corinthians, for the genuineness of which the evidence, though not altogether satisfactory, is stronger than can be adduced in favor of any other of these productions. The supremacy of the Father is asserted or implied throughout, and Jesus is spoken of in terms mostly borrowed from the scriptures. He is once called 'the sceptre of the majesty of God,'* and this figurative expression is the most exalted applied to him in the whole Epistle. In conformity with scriptural usage God is said to have made all things 'by the word of his power,' and by the same word, it is added, 'he is able to destroy them.'† Again, 'by his almighty power he fixed the heavens, and by his incomprehensible wisdom he adorned them;'—'above all, he with his holy and pure hands formed man, the most excellent, and, as to his understanding, truly the greatest of all earthly creatures—the character of his own image.'‡ This language, we hardly need say, is utterly at variance with that of Justin and the Ante-Nicene Fathers generally, who represent God as producing from himself a rational power or Son, to be his minister in creating and adorning the earth and the heavens.

We have thus shown, we think conclusively, that the views entertained by Justin, and the other philosophical converts before the council of Nice, were not, and could not have been,

* Chap. xvi. Archbp. Wake's Translation. Ed. 5th.

† Chap. xxvii.

‡ xxxiii.

derived from the sacred writings. The meaning which the Jews attributed to the term *logos*, or *word*, as used throughout the Old Testament, and to *wisdom*, as employed by their ethical writers before and after the formation of their sacred canon, differs essentially from the meaning ascribed to them by those Fathers. The Jews never intended to designate by them a real person or being, which was the sense in which the Fathers uniformly understood them. The language of the New Testament, and of the christian writings of the first century, so far as we have any means of judging of it, contains no traces of this permanent personification of a divine attribute in Jesus Christ. The doctrine was unknown to the church as long as the converts to Christianity were confined to the uneducated classes. It appeared with Justin, who came over to Christianity deeply imbued with the corrupt philosophy of the age. We are authorised hence to infer, that he brought it with him, or the rudiments of it at least, from the schools of human learning.

This inference, we conceive, would be just, were the evidence that Justin's sentiments respecting the *logos* corresponded, in their essential features, with those of the later or Alexandrine Platonists, far less satisfactory than it is. Were there an entire want of evidence of this kind, our argument might appear to be embarrassed with one difficulty ; for it would leave the origin of the sentiments in question unexplained, and this circumstance, it might be urged, ought to excite distrust of its soundness. The objection would have some force, though far from being insuperable. But the opponents of the proposition we are endeavouring to establish, are, by their own concessions, deprived even of this refuge. The proofs of the similarity contended for, between the sentiments of Justin and the Alexandrine Platonists, are so strong, that the best informed of all parties have yielded a ready assent to them. Few names stand higher in the Romish church than those of Petavius and Huet, or Huetius ; the latter, Bishop of Avranches, a learned man, and the original editor of Origen's Commentaries on the New Testament ; the former, a Jesuit, profoundly versed, as his writings prove, in a knowledge of christian antiquity. Among Protestants, Cudworth, author of the Intellectual System, stands preeminent for erudition, and Mosheim, and many will add, Horsley, the antagonist of Dr Priestley, have no mean fame. Yet all these, and we might mention several others, all belonging to the ranks of Trinitarians, admit in substance the

charge of Platonism brought against the Fathers.* They all concede that the modes of expression, the arguments and illustrations employed by the early Fathers, were often derived from Platonic sources. Horsley says expressly that the Platonizing Fathers were 'the Orthodox of their age,' and contends for 'such a similitude' between the doctrine of the Fathers and Platonists, 'as speaks a common origin;'† and Cudworth has instituted a very labored comparison to show that 'there is no so great difference,' as he expresses it, 'between the genuine Platonic trinity, rightly understood, and the Christian.'‡ The abovementioned writers, as Trinitarians, suppose, of course, that the trinity was originally derived either from the bible or from tradition; but all of them, we believe, if we except Horsley, admit that it became somewhat corrupted by an infusion of Platonic sentiments. This may be regarded as satisfactorily proved by the learned Brucker, the historian of philosophy, also a Trinitarian.§

The great points of resemblance between the views of the Platonists and those of the christian Fathers, and of Justin in particular, on the subject of the *logos*, Son, or second God, may be stated in few words. Plato had spoken of three principles; God, his reason or *logos*, embracing the patterns or archetypes of things afterwards formed, and the soul of the world. The latter he made distinct and subordinate to the others. The second, which, as we have just said, he calls the reason,

* Petav. Theol. Dogmat. T. II. lib. i. c. iii. et seqq. Huet. Origeniana lib. ii. c. i. and c. ii. Quæst. 2d. Ed. 1658. See also, Chris. Disciple, Vol. I. pp. 398, et seqq. New Series, where the language of Mosheim is quoted.

† See General Repository and Review, Vol. III. pp. 18, 19.

‡ The whole subject is treated with great learning, Intell. Sys. lib. i. c. 4. pp. 557, et seqq. Ed. Lon. 1678.

§ Hist. Crit. Phil. See especially T. III. pp. 313—459, which contain the result of a diligent examination of the writings of Justin, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, and others. His conclusion, in which he is fully borne out by his citations, is, that the taint of Platonism strongly adhered to these Fathers, and that through their writings the whole church, in fact, became infected. To the abovementioned authorities we may add that of James Basnage, also a learned man and a Trinitarian. History of the Jews, b. iv. c. vi. § 21, 22.

Professor Stuart, in his Letters on the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, attempts to soften the charge of Platonism against the early Fathers, but the general strain of his remarks goes to substantiate it, though the reverse was intended. He admits that they erred in their views of the 'generation of the Son of God;' and intimates, if he does not assert, that their acquaintance with Plato's doctrine of a '*logos*, or *nous*, to which he ascribes the creation of the world,' and their familiarity with the heathen notions of 'emanation and generation, applied to the divine nature,' were the source of their error. Let. III.

or, as it would sometimes seem, the intellect of God, he pronounces 'the divinest of all things,' and admits it into the number of his primary principles. Whether he regarded it as having a real and proper subsistence, or only an attribute represented as a person by a sort of poetical fiction, it is of no consequence to determine. It is acknowledged that he sometimes speaks of it in terms, which cannot easily be explained, except on the supposition, that he considered it a real being distinct from the supreme God, or united with him only as proceeding from the fountain of his divinity. Certain it is that it was so explained by his later followers of the Egyptian school, especially after they had become acquainted with the Oriental doctrine of emanations.

Of the opinions of this school, Philo, a learned Jew of Alexandria, who flourished soon after the christian era, and who had been called the Jewish Plato, from the striking resemblance of his opinions to those of the Athenian sage, may be regarded as a fair representative. Fortunately, his writings, the bulk of them at least, have been preserved, and from them we may gather the sentiments of the Alexandrine Platonists of his time. He admits that there is one supreme God, but supposes that there is a second, inferior to him, and begotten of him, called his reason, *logos*, the term, as we have seen, employed by Plato to designate his second principle. To this *logos*, or intelligent nature emanating from God, as he considers it, he attributes all the properties of a real being, and calls him the most ancient of all beings begotten or made,*—the most ancient and chief angel, the mediator between God and man, not unbegotten as God, nor begotten in the same manner as we are, but holding a middle place between the two extremes,†—the first born of God, discharging the office of high priest in the temple of the universe.‡ He applies the title of God to him, not using the term, as he says, in the highest sense.§ At other times he speaks of him as the image of God,|| and again, the reason of God, embracing, like Plato's *logos*, the ideas or archetypes, according to which the sensible world was framed. He calls God the fountain of the *logos*, and the *logos* his instrument, or minister, in forming, preserving, and governing the world, his messenger and the interpreter of his will to man. Expressions

* Opp. p. 71. Ed. 1613. † Ib. pp. 397, 8. ‡ Ib. p. 463. § Ib. p. 465.
|| Ib. p. 5.

similar to the above, abound throughout his writings. Thus, using the term *logos* in the sense of reason, having a proper subsistence, and distinct from God, though emanating from the fountain of his divinity, he departed from the usage of the sacred writers, who, as we have shown, never attribute to it this meaning. The sum of the matter, is, the authors of the Septuagint Version and the Platonists hit upon the same term to express totally different views; the former intending by it simply a mode of action in the Deity, the latter a real being, his agent and minister in executing his will. The coincidence is merely verbal, and, as it would seem, accidental.

The subject might be further illustrated by an appeal to later writers of the same school, as Plotinus and others, but it is unnecessary. Justin and the subsequent Fathers, we know, read Philo, and their thoughts and expressions often exhibit a remarkable coincidence with his. Indeed so deeply are their writings imbued with his sentiments and spirit, that without him, as Mosheim observes, they would often be 'altogether unintelligible.' No one, who compares their sentiments in reference to the *logos*, with those entertained and expressed by him, can doubt, we think, that they must have been derived from a common source, and this could be no other than the doctrines of Plato, as explained by his later followers. Justin, as related in the former part of this article,* expressly informs us that he became acquainted with these doctrines before his conversion to Christianity, and took incredible delight in them. The process by which he engrafted them on the original truths of the gospel, without any premeditated design of corruption, which we do not impute to him, can, we think, be easily explained. We must beg our readers to bear in mind what, as we conceive, was satisfactorily proved in the preceding number, that as a writer and critic he was not exempt from the prominent faults of his age, and was but very imperfectly acquainted with the laws of exposition and the principles of correct reasoning. Keeping this fact in view, we can readily conceive, that the good Father, deceived by an apparent resemblance between the language of John, in the introductory verses of his Gospel, and that of the Platonists in whose school he had been educated, might rashly conclude that the evangelist and the philosophers really taught the same doctrine. We say *apparent* resem-

* p. 144.

blance in modes of expression, for we are convinced that it is only such. That the apostle entertained no such view of the *logos*, or first begotten of God, as was taught in the Platonic schools, is, we think, quite plain from the manner in which he has ordinarily expressed himself in his writings, and he could not, therefore, have meant to teach it in the passage under consideration. A careful examination of the passage, far from weakening, goes to strengthen, this conclusion. It appears not improbable, that in writing it he had in view the errors, which even in his day began to insinuate themselves into the church, and designed to correct them. Le Clerc supposes that he had reference to the very errors of Platonism to which we allude, and some imperfect acquaintance with which he might have obtained from conversation or books, during his long residence in Asia Minor, and particularly at Ephesus, the inhabitants of which maintained a free intercourse with Alexandria. Others contend, that he alluded to certain tenets of the Oriental philosophy, which inculcated a belief of numerous *æons*, or inferior intelligences emanating from the divine mind, and taught that this world was produced by one of these intelligences, and not by the supreme God. This doctrine was held by the Gnostics, a sect which became widely diffused during the second and third centuries, and which may be traced back to the times of the apostles. But though distinct in their origin, the Oriental and Greek philosophy became in some respects blended in the Platonic schools of Alexandria. It was a doctrine of those schools, as before shown, that God created and governs the world by the agency of another being, produced or emanating from him, and inferior to him. This doctrine, we are persuaded St John intended to combat, as unscriptural, false, and pernicious. On this supposition his language appears perfectly intelligible and appropriate. He means simply to assert, that the world was formed by the immediate agency of God ; that the *logos*, word, wisdom, or energy employed in its production, was no other than an attribute of God actively exerted ; that he always possessed this attribute ; that it was with him from the first ; that it was inseparable from him, entering into his very essence and constituting him what he is ; that it was the source of life and light to the world ; that it was especially manifested through Jesus of Nazareth, in whom, as the representative, image, copy, or resemblance of God, it might be said to have been embodied, and to have dwelt among us. Such appears

to be the meaning of John, divested of the peculiar phraseology in which it is expressed ; a phraseology which to Jewish minds must have appeared much less extraordinary than to us, for they were familiar with similar modes of speech, and similar bold and figurative descriptions. But the misfortune, as it regards Justin and the Fathers, was, that, retaining, in some respects, the language of the apostle, they explained it conformably to their own philosophical notions, and thus inadvertently fastened on Christianity one of the errors of the Platonists.

We have pointed out some features in which the views of the *logos* entertained by the Fathers, coincided essentially with those of the Platonists. Both the Fathers and Platonists used the term in the sense of reason, which they converted into a real person, and thus departed from the primitive notions of the Jews, and the sentiments uniformly inculcated in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. Further, the Platonists regarded the *logos*, or Son, as distinct from the Unbegotten One, and essentially inferior. And so, we add, did the Fathers, and this constitutes another striking point of resemblance. The inferiority of the Son was generally, if not uniformly, asserted by the Ante-Nicene Fathers. This has been admitted by several learned advocates of the doctrine of the trinity. Cudworth fully and expressly asserts it* of 'the generality of the christian doctors for the first three hundred years after the apostles' times ;' and Brucker, Petavius, and Huetius, already referred to, and we may add Le Clerc, entertained substantially the same opinion. That the opinion is well founded, has been incontestably proved, we conceive, by Whiston, author of *Primitive Christianity Revived*, † and by Whitby in a work, which never has been, and we hazard nothing in saying, never can be refuted. ‡ That they viewed the Son as distinct from the Father is evident from the circumstance, that they plainly assert his inferiority. Besides, they often either directly affirm it, or use language which necessarily implies it. § They considered him distinct and sub-

* Intellect. Sys. p. 595. † vol. iv. ‡ *Disquisitiones Modestæ in Cl. Bulli Defensionem Fid. Nic.*

§ In fact, the Fathers of the council of Nice and their predecessors, never thought of asserting, that the Son and the Father were *numerically* one. This was a refinement of later times. The term *consubstantial*, as used by these Fathers and by the Platonists, the learned well know, implied not a *numerical*, but only a *specific* identity. By saying that two beings were consubstantial, as that the Son was consubstantial with the Father, they only meant to affirm that they partook of the same common or specific nature, just as two individual men partake of a common nature, that is, a human nature, though they constitute two distinct beings, having a separate will and consciousness.

ordinate. This appears, as it regards Justin, from the passages already adduced, in the account given of his sentiments, a few pages back. We shall now exhibit further evidence of the fact.

First, we would observe, that Justin expressly contends for two Gods, and two Lords, against what he considered the cavils of the Jews. He speaks of the Lord in heaven as Lord of that Lord who appeared on earth, and the source of all his power, titles, and dominion, 'the cause of his being powerful and Lord and God.'* The expression, 'The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven upon Sodom,' he contends, shows that they are really two in number. The same is implied, he says, in the words, 'Adam has become as one of us;' words, he maintains, which are not to be regarded as a mere figure of speech, as sophists contend. He then quotes the passage from Proverbs already repeatedly referred to, and adds, whence you may understand, if you will attend, that this progeny of the Father was begotten of him before all creatures, and that which is begotten, as all know, *is different in number* from that which begets it, that is, they constitute two beings numerically distinct.† On this point the language of Justin is too plain to be misunderstood. Trypho had challenged him to show that there is mentioned in the Old Testament, any other Lord and God except the Supreme. In reply, he maintains that there is another often spoken of, and who appeared to the Patriarchs, the Son and minister of the Supreme, voluntarily begotten of him, not from eternity—this he nowhere asserts—but before the creation of the world, that he might be employed as an agent in its production.

Again, Justin frequently applies to the Son, such phrases as these,—'next in rank,' or 'next after' God; as the *logos*, or Son, is the first power, virtue, after God the Father and Lord of all.‡ Again, we reverence him *next after* God; and he sometimes states the ground of this reverence, which is not because he is of one essence with the Father, but because for our sakes he became man and partook of our infirmities, that through him we might be healed.§ Such phrases, we say, occur, not once, but repeatedly, and their import cannot be mistaken.

Of the derivation of the Son from the Supreme God, and his subjection to him as the minister of his will, of his names

* Dial. p. 222. Thirib. pp. 413, 414.

† Apol. I. p. 63.

‡ Ib.

§ Apol. II. p. 97.

and offices, and especially of his title to be called God in an inferior sense of the term, the following account is given. He is God, *because he is the first-born of every creature*; *—the Lord of hosts *by the will of the Father giving him the dominion*. † Again, he *received of the Father*, that he should be king, and Christ, and priest, and angel, and whatever other such things, that is, titles, rank, and offices, he has and had. ‡ Again, he came according to the power of the omnipotent Father *given to him*. § God *gave glory* to Christ alone, whom he constituted a light to the nations. || Again, the Lord and Father of the universe is represented as raising him from the earth and placing him at his right hand. ¶ He expressed reliance on God, says Justin, for support and safety, nor, he continues, does he profess to do anything of his own will or power. He refused to be called good, replying, ‘one is good, my Father who is in heaven.’ ** Again, Justin speaks of him in the following terms; ‘Who, *since he is the first begotten logos of God, is God* ;’ †† that is, he is God by virtue of his birth; in other words, he derived a divine nature from God, just as we derive a human nature from human parents. This was what Justin and others meant when they spoke of the divinity of Christ.

Justin uses another class of expressions, which show that the supremacy of the Father was still preserved in his time. He represents Christians as approaching the Father *through* the Son. *Through* him, he says, they offered thanks and prayers to God; as, we do always beseech God, *through* Jesus Christ, to preserve us from the power of demons. †† And in the account he gives of the celebration of the supper, he observes, that the person presiding offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit. §§ Again, in all our oblations we bless the Maker of the universe, *through* his Son and the Holy Spirit. |||| From these passages, as well as from the whole strain of Justin’s writings, it is evident that the Son was not regarded in his time as an object of direct address in prayer. No expression occurs in any part of his works, which affords the slightest ground for the supposition that religious adoration and prayer were ever offered up to him,

* Dial. p. 218.

† Ib. 184. Thirlb. 327.

‡ Dial. p. 162, 3.

** Ib. p. 196.

‡‡ Dial. p. 128.

|||| Ib. p. 83.

† Ib. 181, 182.

§ Dial. p. 320. Thirlb. 432.

¶ Ib. p. 129.

†† Apol. p. 81. Thirlb. 94.

§§ Apol. p. 82.

or that his name was ever directly invoked. Prayer was as yet uniformly offered to God *through* the Son, according to the models left in the scriptures.

We might multiply proofs, but it is unnecessary. We have adduced evidence sufficient, and more than sufficient, we conceive, to demonstrate beyond the possibility of cavil, that Justin regarded the Son as distinct from God, and inferior to him; distinct, not as forming one of three hypostases, or persons, three 'distinctions' or three 'somewhats,' but distinct in essence and nature, deriving all his powers and titles from God, constituted under him and subject to his will. *

Thus, then, the argument stands. The views which Justin entertained of the *logos*, or Son, as a rational power begotten of God, and his instrument in forming the world, distinct from him, and subordinate, cannot be traced in the Jewish or Christian scriptures. Neither the language of the Septuagint Version, in which the term occurs, nor the corresponding Hebrew, were regarded by the Jews as teaching them. They are not alluded to by the apostles and writers of the New Testament and their immediate successors; or if indirectly alluded to in one instance, it was only that they might be condemned. But they occur in the writings of the Alexandrine Platonists, precisely, or nearly in the same form in which they appear in Justin, who is the first christian writer in which they are met with, and who, as we learn from himself, was a Platonic philosopher before he was a Christian. To us the conclusion appears irresistible, that he derived them from the Platonists, and on his conversion undesignedly incorporated them with the christian faith. Nor is there anything surprising in all this. It would have been more surprising if the Fathers, educated as heathen philosophers, should have taken along with them none of their former sentiments on going over to Christianity. The human mind does not so easily part with early and long cherished opinions and prejudices. Then in the case of the Fathers, it should be considered, their fondness for allegory and mystical interpretations, and general want of skill as critics, a fault common to them with their heathen cotemporaries, deprived them of al-

* *Hypostasis* was used by the Fathers in the time of Justin as synonymous with substance. The technical sense, in which it has since been employed by theologians, was at that time wholly unknown. This has been placed beyond question by learned and impartial critics.

most the only means of correcting their misapprehensions, by a careful and discriminating study of the sacred writings.*

The modern popular doctrine of the trinity, it will be perceived from the foregoing remarks, derives no support from the language of Justin; and this observation may be extended to all the Ante-Nicene Fathers, that is, to all christian writers for three centuries after the birth of Christ. It is true they speak of the Father, Son, and prophetic or holy Spirit, but that they regarded them as three persons, or three distinctions in one numerical essence, cannot be affirmed with any appearance of truth. The very reverse is the fact. The doctrine of the trinity as explained by these Fathers, was essentially different from the modern doctrine. This we state as a fact as susceptible of proof as any fact in the history of human opinions.

The late Bishop of Lincoln, Tomline, quotes two passages from Justin in support of the doctrine of the trinity as held by the Church of England, and as we must suppose that he had learning and judgment sufficient to enable him to select those most to his purpose, we are authorised to infer, that they are

* The Fathers appear to have felt that some apology was necessary for the very frequent use they made of Platonic sentiments and illustrations, and hence contended, with great pertinacity, that Plato stole from Moses. 'To take from him, therefore, was in their view no plunder; it was only to reclaim pilfered treasures. That he borrowed from the Hebrews, is repeatedly asserted by Justin, but the notion did not originate with him. It was propagated long before by the Jews, who, with the exclusive spirit which always characterised them, claimed to be the sole depositaries of truth. The opinion may be traced to Aristobulus, a Jew, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, about one hundred and fifty years before Christ, and who, it seems, dealt plentifully in fables. Aristobulus affirms that both Pythagoras and Plato drew information from the Jewish scriptures, of which he says a Greek translation was made before that of the Seventy. But of this translation no vestige remains, nor, we believe, is any mention made of it by any other writer. The authors of the Septuagint Version make no allusion to it, and it therefore probably never existed. Josephus asserted, after Aristobulus, that Plato took Moses for his model, and they were followed by Justin, Clemens of Alexandria, and others, who found the doctrine exceedingly convenient, as it served in a measure to justify, what might otherwise have appeared an extravagant admiration of Plato and his opinions. We think, however, that the evidence adduced to show that Plato derived assistance from the compositions of Moses, is very unsatisfactory. He probably knew nothing either of the Jewish lawgiver or of his writings. The testimony of the abovementioned authors, in this case, is entitled to no credit, as it is founded wholly on conjecture. Then the whole spirit of Plato's theological speculations is opposed to the Mosaic doctrines, as may be seen from the slight comparison above instituted, with regard to his *logos* or second principle, to which there is nothing corresponding in the theology of Moses. This subject is amply discussed by Le Clerc, Crit. Epist. VII. and VIII. See also some observations of Brucker, T. I. pp. 635, 639. and Basnage's History of the Jews, B. IV. c. iv.

the strongest which the language of this Father affords. In quoting the first, however, he with marked disingenuousness suppresses a clause, which wholly invalidates his inference, and debars Protestants, at least, from all benefit of the passage as a proof text. The passage, as he gives it, stands thus; 'We worship and adore the Father, and the Son, who came from him and taught us these things, and the prophetic Spirit.'* Now not to insist on the ambiguity of the words, here rendered 'worship and adore,' which, if any regard is due to the usage of the best writers, admit with equal propriety of being rendered 'reverence and honor,' the passage abovegiven is in a mutilated form. As it stands in Justin, it reads thus; 'We reverence and honor him, (the Father,) and the Son who came from him and taught us these things, and the host of other good angels, who follow and resemble him, and the prophetic Spirit.'† In this form, as it will be readily perceived, it may be adduced to sanction the Romish doctrine of the adoration of angels, with as much propriety as in support of the worship of the three persons of the trinity. It is one of the passages usually appealed to by Catholics as evidence of the antiquity of that doctrine. If it prove anything, therefore, it proves too much for Protestant Trinitarians. This objection can be met only by putting on the passage in question, a construction manifestly forced and unnatural.‡

* Elements of Christian Theology, Vol. II. p. 92. Ed. 4th.

† Apol. i. p. 47. Thirlb. p. 11.

‡ This has been sometimes attempted with a singular contempt of the laws of interpretation. We will give the passage as it stands in the original. *Αλλ' αὐτοὶ τε, καὶ τοὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἰσχυροὺς καὶ ἐξομοιοῦμεν ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατοὶ, πνεῦμα τε τοῦ προφητικῆς σοφοῦ καὶ προσκυνούμεν.* Now, it is maintained by some, that Justin only meant to say, that Christ taught us those things of which he has been speaking, and also the things relating to angels; by others, that he taught us and the angels those things. Bishop Bull contends for the first of these constructions, Grabe and Cave for the second. Langius also gives the same, and Thirlby has retained it. Both constructions, however, do the utmost violence to the original. Le Clerc was more honest, and gives the sense very correctly as follows. 'Nous le servons et nous l'honorons, et son Fils, qui est venu de vers lui, et qui nous a instruits de ces choses, et l'Armée des autres bons Anges, qui l'ont suivi, et qui lui ressemblent, et l'esprit prophétique.' Biblioth. Anc. et Mod. T. xxiii. pp. 18, 19. Whiston (Prim. Christ. iv. p. 66.) gives a similar version, and Dr. Priestley very accurately expresses the sense of the passage thus; 'Him (God) and the Son that came from him, and the host of other good angels, who accompany and resemble him, together with the prophetic Spirit, we adore and venerate.' Hist. Corruptions. Part I. sec. 7. Catholic writers, for assigning this sense to the words of Justin, the only sense, we repeat, of which they admit, were accused by the earlier Protestants of 'playing the Jesuit,' and 'knavishly dealing

The other passage referred to by the Bishop, is not more to his purpose. In fact, it teaches a doctrine decidedly opposed to the Trinitarian views of the worship due to the Father, Son, and Spirit. We worship, says Justin, God, the maker of the universe, offering up to him prayers and thanks. But assigning to Jesus, who came to teach us these things, and for this end was born, the 'second place' after God, and to the prophetic Spirit the 'third,' we not without reason honor them. Hence, he adds, addressing the Romans, you accuse us of madness, because, as you say, we assign the second place after the immutable and eternal God to a crucified man.*

With regard to the Spirit, Justin evidently regarded it as a divine influence, or mode of operation in the Deity. This the whole tenor of his writings satisfactorily proves. He uses no expressions which necessarily imply its distinct and proper personality; for we suppose that it will not be contended by any correct critic, that the phrase 'honoring the spirit,' or the 'prophetic spirit,' as he usually terms it, authorises us to infer that he considered it a real being. Those who think, that they can explain the phraseology of the bible consistently with the supposition that the Spirit is an influence, or mode of divine agency, will certainly find no difficulty in any expressions Justin employs on the subject.†

with their author.' And Dr Priestley has not escaped a most shameless attack from a writer of the present day, a clergyman of the Church of England, in a work recently published in England and reprinted and circulated in this country. We refer to a treatise on the Difficulties of Romanism, designed as a reply to a work of the Bishop of Aire in defence of the Catholic Church, by 'George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long-Newton.' This writer, after attempting in sufficiently bad taste to ridicule Dr Priestley as the veriest bungler in Greek, goes on to talk of those, who, as he is pleased very modestly to say, 'render Justin's Greek in the same manner as *myself*;' and he proceeds to give what he calls '*my own* English translation,' 'lest,' he adds, 'any inferior Latin Theologian should be tempted in an evil hour,—to produce Justin as a primitive advocate for angel-worship,' following what he sneeringly terms the 'unrivalled translation of Dr Priestley.' Such arrogance is intolerable.

* Apol. i. p. 51.

† He sometimes confounds the *spirit* with the *logos*. 'The power of the Highest overshadowed Mary,' he observes, in allusion to Luke, i. 35; and adds, by the spirit, or power of God, we are to understand no other than the *logos*, the first-begotten of God. (Apol. i. 64.) He sometimes speaks of the prophets, as inspired by the *logos*, and sometimes by the spirit. Others among the early Fathers, confounded the *logos*, or Son, the first production of God, with the spirit,—a fact, which shows how very imperfectly the first rudiments of the doctrine of the trinity, as explained in subsequent ages, had then disclosed themselves.

Justin nowhere asserts, that the Father, Son, and Spirit, constitute one God, as became the custom in later ages, after the doctrine of the trinity was fully

We will dismiss this topic with a few remarks concerning the chapter of Bishop Kaye on the Opinions of Justin respecting the *Logos* and the Trinity, in the work the title of which we have copied at the head of the present article. To say that we are not altogether satisfied with the chapter, would too feebly express our opinion of its defects. It is written in a style sufficiently dignified, and in general not uncourteous, but contains misstatements and errors, which we regard with no small surprise, for we are disposed, in the main, to think well of the Bishop's good sense and candor. The question of the Platonism of Justin, he professes to settle in the compass of eight loosely printed octavo pages, which contain a few observations of rather a trivial character, and very little to the point. We feel constrained to say, that the Bishop either does not understand the charge of Platonism, brought against the Fathers, or has artfully disguised it. His remarks, in fact, leave it wholly untouched. That Justin was 'indebted to the Platonic philosophy for the doctrines of the divinity of the *logos*, and of the trinity,' he says, 'is a position, to which we cannot yield our assent; because, in the first place, no sufficient proof has yet been produced, that even the germ of those doctrines exists in the writings of Plato.*' A very hardy assertion. But let that pass; admit that not even a *germ* of those doctrines exists in the writings of Plato; nevertheless, it did exist in the writings of his later followers, and it is from these, and not immediately from the writings of Plato himself, as Dr Kaye, we should think, must have known, that the Fathers are charged with deriving their notions of the *logos*.

Again, Justin quotes two passages from Plato, in confirmation of his own views of the *logos*, which passages Dr Kaye thinks nothing to the purpose. Therefore, he infers, Justin did not derive his sentiments concerning the *logos* from Plato.

matured. Strictly speaking, he was a Unitarian, as were the Orthodox Fathers generally of his time; that is, they believed the Son to be a being really distinct from the Father, and inferior to him,—which we take to be the very essence of Unitarianism. With regard to the *origin* of the Son, their views differed from those afterwards taught by Arius. With reference to his *distinct* and *subordinate nature*, however, they often used expressions, which the Arians found no difficulty in retaining. The germ of the trinity, however, was now introduced, and though the features it was afterwards to assume, were not yet defined, it from time to time received modifications and additions, till, about the end of the fourth century, amid the storms and agitations of controversy, it was moulded into something resembling the form it has since retained.

* p. 45.

We repeat, no one ever charged him with deriving them immediately from Plato, but from the Platonists of the Alexandrine school. We are grieved to witness such evasions in one whom we would willingly regard with a feeling of respect.

Once more, the Bishop asserts that Justin 'uniformly speaks of them,' that is, the doctrines he taught concerning the *logos*, 'as held not by himself alone, or the more enlightened few, but by *all the members of the Christian community*;' * a most unfortunate assertion, and one, the absolute falsehood of which is proved by the Bishop's own quotations on the very page in which the assertion is made. 'There are some of our race,' these are the words of Justin, as translated by the Bishop himself, 'there are some of our race,' that is, Christians, 'who acknowledge him to be Christ; yet maintain that he was born of human parents.' † How, we would ask, is this assertion of Justin consistent with the Bishop's statement, that he uniformly speaks of his own views as 'held by all the members of the Christian community?' The Bishop makes several other assertions of rather a surprising character, which, as we are unwilling to suppose that they are founded in ignorance or design, we must attribute to haste and inadvertency. Thus, 'that Justin asserted the divinity of the *logos* and a real trinity, is admitted,' he observes, 'even by those, who are most anxious to prove that the early Christians were Unitarians;' ‡—language evidently meant to leave the impression that the essential features of the trinity, as now explained, are found in what is taught by Justin; a statement, the correctness of which the Bishop, if he has read, however superficially, the writings of Unitarians, must have known is *not* admitted. Again, speaking of the generation of the Son, he says, 'The general opinion of the Ante-Nicene Fathers appears to have been, that, previously to this generation or emission, the *logos subsisted from eternity* in a state of most intimate union with the Father, though *personally distinct from him*;' † a statement directly the reverse of the fact, as learned Trinitarians themselves have proved, and the Bishop's own citations show, as regards Justin. Further, our author observes, that Jesus is said by Justin, 'to be the object of worship;' but he omits to add, that Justin expressly distinguishes between the worship or reverence due to God, as supreme, and that due to the Son, as the instrument through which he executes his will and commands.

* p. 49.

† lb. note.

‡ p. 44.

§ p. 56.

We might quote other assertions equally unguarded, but the above are amply sufficient to show that the Bishop's statements are to be received with some caution, especially on points, with regard to which his fidelity to the oath of subscription, rendered it improper for him to make any concessions.

But to return to Justin. Whatever may have been his speculative errors, there is much in him to commend, and something to imitate. His defects belonged to the times; his excellences were peculiar to himself, and to that noble band, who, by their lives and writings, stemmed the torrent of corruption and vice, and left monuments of their exalted courage and zeal in every land. We have already observed that he was a strenuous assertor of religious liberty. In fact, he was the great champion of liberal sentiments against the bigots of his day. There existed in the early ages of the church two classes of Exclusionists. One consisted of the primitive Jewish Christians, who were unwilling to admit, that the Gentile converts could attain to the rewards of the life to come, without conformity to the Mosaic ritual. The Gentiles, a little after, contended, in the same spirit of exclusion, that the Jewish converts, who still continued to observe the ceremonial law, forfeited the hope of salvation. To this opinion Justin alludes, and expresses his disapprobation of it. He allows that not only righteous Jews who lived before the time of Christ, would be admitted to the felicity of the future life, but those who lived afterwards, and who, with a profession of faith in Jesus united an observance of the Mosaic rites, are to be received, he says, as brethren entitled to christian fellowship and sympathy, provided they do not attempt to subject others to the bondage of Jewish forms.* He even contrives, though by a sort of finesse of reasoning, to save virtuous Heathens, who, as he says, were partakers of Christ, or the *logos*, the 'seed of which is implanted in every human breast.'

We will give another instance of his catholic and charitable spirit. He was himself a believer in Christ's preexistence; but this, he tells us, was not the universal belief of his age. There were some who rejected it, being believers in the simple humanity of Jesus. But though he expresses his dissent from their opinions, he treats them with respect, and readily grants their title to the christian name, character, and hopes. The whole passage, in which his views on this subject are contained, is worth quoting,

* Dial. pp. 142, 143.

as an instance of his liberality which does him great credit, and should put the spirit of modern intolerance to the blush. It proves that this Father, whatever his faults, was no Exclusionist.

To his views of Christ's preexistence, Trypho, who may be regarded as uttering the sentiments of the Jews of his and of all times, objects that they appear strange and incapable of proof. For as to your assertion that this Christ is a preexistent God, who afterwards condescended to be born and be made man, to me, he says, it seems not only paradoxical, but foolish. Justin replies, I know that this assertion appears incredible, especially to you Jews ; but nevertheless, Trypho, should I fail of showing that he is the preexistent Son of the Father of the universe, and therefore God, and that he was born of a virgin, it cannot hence be inferred he is not the Christ of God ; but since it is fully demonstrated that he is the Christ of God, whatever be his nature, even should I not succeed in proving that he is preexistent, and submitted to become man of like passions with us, having flesh, according to the counsel of the Father,—in this latter respect only would it be just to say that I have erred. Still you would not be authorised to deny that he is the Christ, although it should appear that he was a man, born of human parents, and it should be shown that he became Christ by election. For there are some of our race, that is, Christians, who acknowledge that he is the Christ, but affirm that he was a man, born in the ordinary way, from whom I dissent. To this Trypho replies, They who suppose him to be a man, and affirm that he was anointed, and became Christ by election, appear to me to hold an opinion much more probable than the sentiments you have expressed, for we all believe that Christ will be a man born of human parents, and that when he comes, he will be anointed by Elias. *

With regard to the great points, which, since the days of Augustin, have divided the christian world, usually called the Calvinistic Points, Justin held moderate and rational views. He nowhere states his opinion of the precise effect of Adam's fall, though he is decidedly opposed to the doctrines of hereditary depravity, original sin, and the inability of man to do the will of God, as explained in later times. He evidently knew nothing of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity. He is a firm advocate for human freedom and the capacity of man for virtue

* Dial. pp. 143, 145. Thirlb. pp. 233, 235.

or vice. Man has power, he maintains, to choose the good and refuse the evil. He earnestly combats the doctrine of destiny or fate. All will be rewarded or punished, he says, according to their merits. If character and actions were fixed, he argues, there could be no such thing as virtue and vice; for these suppose freedom, or the ability to choose and follow the one, and avoid the other. Men, he adds, would not be proper subjects of reward and punishment, if they were good and evil by birth, not by choice; for no one is accountable for the character he brings into the world with him. * This certainly does not look like the doctrine of predestination, and we are authorised to assert, with Bishop Kaye, that 'if Justin held the doctrine of predestination at all, it must have been in the Arminian sense.' †

Of the effects of Christ's death, and of justification, he usually speaks in general and figurative terms, much resembling those which occur in the sacred writings, and capable of a similar construction. He cannot, with any propriety, be adduced as an advocate for the modern popular doctrine of the atonement.

With the opinions of Justin we have now done. It only remains for us to mention a few interesting facts, recorded by him, connected with the history of Christianity. His writings illustrate the condition of Christians at the time he wrote, and the feelings with which they were regarded by Jews and Heathens. He represents the former as more implacable enemies of the Christians than were the Pagans. They sent persons, he tells us, into all parts of the earth to denounce them as heretical and impious. ‡ Their Rabbis pronounced curses against them in their synagogues, § and solemnly charged the people to hold no intercourse with them, particularly to listen to no exposition or defence of their opinions. || To the calumnies of the Jews, industriously propagated over all parts of the civilized world, Justin attributes the odium to which Christians were subjected on account of their supposed profligacy, and there can be little doubt, we think, but they were the authors of the foul slander. Certainly it could have originated only in the bitterest hatred; and this hatred, as thorough as ever rankled in the human breast, they appear, according to the testimony not of Justin merely, but of Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius and others, to have felt.

* Apol. i. p. 69.

‡ Dial. p. 117.

§ Ib.

† p. 81.

|| Dial. p. 204.

The stern opposition which Christianity encountered from Jews and Heathens, however, had not the effect of preventing its growth. Of its prevalence in his time, Justin speaks in the following terms, which, after due allowance for exaggeration and rhetorical embellishment, afford undoubted evidence of its extensive diffusion. 'There is no race of men, whether Greek or Barbarian, or called by any other name, whether they roam about in wagons, or with pastoral simplicity dwell under tents, among whom prayers and thanks are not offered up to the Father and Maker of the universe through the name of the crucified Jesus.'* He bears testimony, also, to its effects in reforming the lives of the converts. We, he observes, addressing the Romans, we who were formerly dissolute, are now chaste; we who were addicted to the use of magic arts, have now dedicated ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who made it our chief care to acquire wealth and possessions, now throw what we have into a common stock, and freely impart to those who have need; we whose lives were passed in mutual hatred and strife, and who refused to have friendly and social intercourse with those of a different tribe, now, since the appearance of Christ, live familiarly with them, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who unjustly hate us, that obeying the excellent precepts of Christ, they may have with us a common hope of the favor of God the Lord of all. †

That this statement, so honorable to Christianity, is in its essential features correct, we see no reason to doubt. Justin constantly appeals to the exemplary lives of the Christians as furnishing a satisfactory refutation of the shameless charges of immorality brought against them, and he makes his appeals in the tone of one who was confident of the goodness of his cause. There is often something peculiarly touching and noble in these appeals. The language in which they are made has an earnestness, a force, and pathos, which nothing but truth, and a deep sense of wrong done the Christians, could give. ‡

* Dial. p. 211.

† Apol. i. pp. 51, 52.

‡ A bare recital of the cruel injuries and sufferings to which the followers of Jesus were exposed, is enough to make the heart thrill with horror. The following picture by Bishop Kaye, is substantiated by ample references, and faithfully represents the language of Justin on this subject. 'But though many might become favorably disposed to Christianity by contemplating the pure and blameless lives of its professors, and thus be induced at length to imitate the virtues which they admired, yet to the majority the Christians were the objects

The testimony of Justin to the purifying and ennobling influence of Christianity, is confirmed by that of cotemporary Fathers. Tatian, his disciple, as quoted by Dr Kaye, says, describing 'in his own person the moral character of Christians in his day,'—'I wish not to reign; I wish not to be rich; I avoid military office; I abhor fornication; I will not make long voyages through the insatiate desire of gain; I contend not at games in order to obtain a crown; I am far removed from the mad love of glory; I despise death; I am superior to every kind of disease; my soul is not consumed with grief. If I am a slave, I submit to my servitude; if I am free, I pride not myself on my noble birth. I see one sun common to all; I see one death common to all, whether they live in pleasure or in want.'*

Athenagoras, who flourished about the year 177 of our era, after observing that the 'Heathen teachers of knowledge, make their profession a mere flourish of words, and not a rule of practice,' proceeds;—'But among us you may find illiterate persons, and artisans, and old women, who, if they cannot benefit others by their words, benefit them by practice. For they do not commit words to memory, but show forth good deeds;—when struck, they strike not again;—when robbed, they have not recourse to the law—they give to those who ask, and love their neighbours as themselves. Is it likely that we should thus purify ourselves, unless we believed that God presided over the human race? No one can say so. But because we are persuaded that we shall render an account of our present life to

at once of hatred and contempt. They were regarded as the vilest of men, and treated with the greatest contumely and injustice. The most unnatural and revolting crimes were laid to their charge; they were accused of feeding on human flesh, and after their horrible repast, of extinguishing the lights and indulging in a promiscuous intercourse. They were also charged with atheism and impiety, because, as Justin states, they would not worship the gods of the Gentiles, or offer libations and sacrifices to dead men. No measure, which promised to accomplish their destruction, was rejected on account of its iniquity or atrocity; their domestics were solicited to inform and give evidence against them; and Justin in one place states that murders were purposely committed by others, in order that the Christians might be charged with the guilt; and that their servants, their children, or their wives were then put to the torture, in the hope that some expression might drop in the moment of agony, which might furnish matter of accusation against them. So strong was the current of public opinion against them, that Justin ventures to ask of the Emperors no more than this—that when the Christians were brought before the tribunals, they should not be condemned merely because they were Christians; but should be dismissed, unless they were convicted of some crime. "I do not," he adds, "go the length of calling upon you to punish our accusers." pp. 115, 116.

* p. 208.

God who made both us and the world, we choose the moderate and benevolent, and, in human estimation, despised course of life ; thinking that even if we lose our lives, we cannot suffer any evil *here*, to be compared with the reward which we shall receive *hereafter* from the great Judge, on account of our gentle, and benevolent, and temperate behaviour.*

These and similar testimonies not only illustrate, in a forcible manner, the moral influence of Christianity as contrasted with Heathenism, but show, that, however the learned might amuse themselves with abstruse speculations, the people regarded Christianity chiefly in its great practical bearings. In fact, they appear to have known and cared little about the subtleties of the philosophizing converts. They adored the one God and Father of All, and received Jesus as a teacher sent from him ; but of his divine nature as the preexisting *logos* of God, they seem to have been ignorant. This was the doctrine of the learned, and was confined to them.

The account which Justin gives, near the close of his first Apology, of the mode of celebrating the rites of baptism and the supper, and of the observance of Sunday in his time, is exceedingly interesting and valuable. It shows that the simplicity of scripture forms was yet, in a great measure, though not in all respects, retained. He speaks of baptism as a regenerating rite. Whoever, he says, believe those things which are taught by us, and profess their determination to live conformably to them, are required by fasting and prayer to seek of God the remission of their sins, we fasting and praying with them. They are then taken to a place where there is water, and are there regenerated in the same manner as we were regenerated, for they are washed with water in the name of God, the Father and Lord of All, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. For Christ, he adds, has said that except ye be regenerated ye cannot enter the kingdom of God. † This regeneration, as we have seen, Justin supposes takes place at baptism. He states the necessity of it, which is not that men inherit a corrupt nature from Adam, but since, he says, we are born without our knowledge and consent, and educated in corrupt morals and customs, therefore, in order that we may not remain children of necessity and ignorance, but may become children of choice and of knowledge, and ob-

* pp. 211, 212.

† Apol. I. p. 79.

tain the remission of sins before committed, the name of the Father and Lord of All is pronounced over him who wishes to be regenerated, and has repented of his transgressions. *

Having received this rite, the person was considered as entitled, by virtue of it, to all the privileges of a follower of Christ, and immediately participated in the rite of the supper, there being at that time no distinction between the church and the congregation of believers. After we have thus washed the believer, says Justin, we take him to the place where the brethren are assembled, and there offer up prayers in common for ourselves, for him who has been enlightened by a knowledge of christian truths, and for all men. After prayer is ended we salute each other with a kiss. Bread and a cup of wine mixed with water, are then brought to him who presides over the brethren, which he takes, and sends up praise and glory to the Father of the Universe, through the name of the Son, and Holy Spirit, and gives thanks that we are deemed worthy to receive these gifts. All the people then say, Amen. Those whom we call deacons then distribute the bread and wine and water, over which thanks have been offered, to those present, and carry a portion of them to the absent. † Justin adds, we do not receive these as common food and drink, and proceeds to speak of them as the flesh and blood of Jesus, in terms which the Catholics regard as teaching the doctrine of transubstantiation. They are certainly a little obscure and mystical, but that Justin did not mean to teach by them that the bread and wine were really converted into the body and blood of Christ, is, we think, rightly inferred from the manner in which he expresses himself in other parts of his writings. The language of the scriptures on this subject is strongly figurative. We believe that Justin meant to be understood as speaking in a similar figurative style.

It is worthy of observation, that, in the above account, the person, who administers the Eucharist, is called simply the *president of the brethren*. No mention is made of bishops, priests, or presbyters in this or in any other part of Justin's writings. Further, nothing is said of the *consecration* of the elements, in the technical sense in which the term is used by some Protestant churches. We are only told that the president of the brethren *offered thanks* over the bread and wine, and

* Apol. I. p. 80.

† Apol. I. pp. 82, 83.

that they were then distributed. Prayers were offered while the people were standing, and, as it seems to be implied, without the use of forms ; but nothing is said of the position of the recipients.* The term *altar* does not occur, and Jurieu asserts that it is not found in the acknowledged remains of any writer of the second century.†

On Sunday, the day of the sun, as Justin's phrase is, all, he says, whether in town or country, assemble in one place, and the memoirs of the apostles and writings of the prophets are read, as time permits. When the reader has finished, the person presiding instructs the people in an address, and exhorts them to imitate the excellent things they have heard. We then all rise and together utter prayers, after which, as before related, bread, and wine and water are brought for the Eucharist, which, it appears, was administered every Lord's day. This was followed by a collection, the proceeds of which were deposited with the president, who, as Justin observes, assists with it orphans and widows, and those who in consequence of sickness, or any other cause, are in want, those who are in bonds, and strangers sojourning among us, and in a word, takes care of all who have need.‡

The reasons Justin assigns for assembling on Sunday, are simply that on that day God commenced the work of creation, and on that day Jesus left the tomb, for he was put to death 'the day before that of Saturn, and the day after, which is the day of the Sun, he appeared again to his disciples.'§ On this ground, and on this alone, Justin puts the observance of Sunday. He evidently did not consider it in any sense a substitute for the Jewish Sabbath, or as deriving any sacredness from the injunction laid on the Jews to observe and hallow that day.

* With regard to the changes which had taken place in the mode of celebrating the Eucharist since the days of the apostles, Bishop Kaye has the following remarks. 'When we compare this account with the notices on the subject of the Eucharist in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, we find that considerable alterations had taken place in the mode of celebration ; occasioned probably by the necessity of correcting abuses and obviating inconveniences. The first converts [Acts ii. 46.] appear, daily after their principal meal, to have taken bread and drunk wine in commemoration of the death of their Saviour.' — 'At a later period the practice at Corinth was, that the brethren assembled together in some one appointed place, for the purpose of eating the Lord's supper, still connecting it with their meal. [1 Cor. xi. 20.] Probably the abuses which prevailed there, and were condemned by St Paul, or others of a similar nature, rendered it eventually expedient to make the celebration of the Eucharist entirely distinct from the meal ; which appears, from the passage just cited, to have been the case in Justin's time.' p. 91.

† Pastoral Letters, VI.

‡ Apol. I. pp. 83, 84.

§ p. 84.

Justin believed, that the power of working miracles had not been withdrawn from the church in his time. He mentions, in general terms, the gifts of prophesy, of healing, and of exorcising demons, as still retained by Christians. But as he specifies no instances of a miracle actually performed, his statement, we suppose, is to be received with some caution and distrust.*

After all, the writings of the Fathers may be considered valuable chiefly as establishing the authenticity of the books of the New Testament. Justin has been generally supposed to quote from our present Gospels, and Lardner has adduced him as furnishing important evidence of their authenticity.† He alludes to a document or documents, which he calls the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, portions of which, he informs us, were read in the assemblies of the early Christians, every Lord's day, and the quotations, which exist in different parts of his writings, correspond to passages found in our present Gospels, with some trifling variations of language. At the same time it is admitted, that he does not expressly name the authors of those Gospels. 'It is certain,' as Bishop Kaye very justly observes, 'that the only book of the New Testament expressly referred to by Justin, is the Revelation, which he ascribes to the Apostle St John.'‡ A question has therefore arisen, whether his quotations were made from our present Gospels, or from some prior and similar document, extant in Justin's time, but which has since perished. Some German theologians have strenuously contended for this latter opinion, and Herbert Marsh § is an avowed advocate for the same. This opinion is combatted at some length, by Bishop Kaye. It is not our intention to embark in the controversy. In a practical view, we consider it of very little importance, and our principal motive in alluding to it, is, to take notice of a very gratifying tribute to

* Bishop Kaye concludes that this power 'was not extended beyond the disciples, upon whom the Apostles conferred it by the imposition of their hands,' and that it 'consequently ceased with the last disciple on whom their hands were laid.'—'I perceive,' he adds, 'in the language of the Fathers, who lived in the middle and end of the second century, when speaking on this subject, something which betrays, if not a conviction, at least a suspicion, that the power of working miracles was withdrawn.' See his *Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries*, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian, pp. 98, 100, 101.

† Credibility of the Gospel History. Works, Vol. I. pp. 344, et seqq. Ed. Lond. 1815.

‡ p. 134.

§ Marsh's *Michaelis*, Vol. I. p. 360. Ed. Lond. 1819.

one of our distinguished fellow citizens, with which the Bishop concludes his observations. 'I will conclude my remarks,' he says, 'on this interesting question, with the words of an able writer, who, at the same time that he protests against a gross misrepresentation, which has been made of the learned prelate's [Bishop Marsh] opinion, thus expresses his dissent from the opinion itself.'* The quotation is from Mr Edward Everett's *Defence of Christianity*, published in Boston in 1814. Our readers will require no apology for its insertion in this place.

'In fact the modern German divines appear to have been the first who thought the verbal diversity of Justin's quotations from the present text of the evangelists to be of any consequence. As a question of criticism, I own it is a difficult one; and did I think that Justin had not quoted our present books, I should not hesitate a moment to avow it. But when we reflect that there is no difference in the *facts* mentioned; that the verbal coincidence is sometimes exact, and sometimes so great as to appear exact in a translation; that Justin calls his books by the name of Gospels, and says that they were written by apostles and apostolic men, which precisely corresponds with ours, two of which are by apostles, and two by apostolic men; and that Irenæus makes no mention of any other books so similar to ours as those of Justin were, if they be not the same; when we reflect on these things, we shall find it hard to believe that Justin quoted any other gospels than ours. If, however, it be thought necessary, notwithstanding all this, to grant that he did not quote our books, then it will be an inference scarcely less favorable to Christianity, that a set of sacred writings, different from ours, did yet testify to the truth of the same facts.'†

We conclude with observing, that the work of Bishop Kaye, with the exception above made, relating to his chapter on the *Logos* and Trinity, is highly creditable to his industry, candor, and judgment, and he has done an acceptable service in giving it to the public. It fully accomplishes what its title, which is sufficiently modest, promises; but it is not adapted, nor was it intended, to introduce its readers to an intimate acquaintance with Justin's intellectual character and habits, his modes of illustration and reasoning, and the literary merit of his productions. It speaks of him with the respect he deserves, but contains no labored and extravagant panegyric. The Fathers have often

* p. 151.

† *Defence of Christianity*, pp. 474-5.

been both praised and censured with too little discrimination. We are to judge of them by the standard of their own age; and with this standard, as we have said, they will certainly bear a very favorable comparison. They are entitled to our gratitude for what they performed, and to our indulgence for their deficiencies. Even their weaknesses and errors are not without their use. They may go to confirm our faith in the heavenly origin and truth of Christianity, for they show that it was propagated not by human eloquence, by 'excellency of speech, or of wisdom' in its early preachers; that its success in the world, according to an observation of Le Clerc, is to be attributed to a Divine Providence, and the beauty and excellence of its doctrines, rather than to the discourses of its advocates.*

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Extraordinary Military Career of John Shipp, late a Lieutenant in his Majesty's Eighty-seventh Regiment.* Written by HIMSELF. New-York. J. & J. Harper, 1829. 2 vols. 12mo.

MILITARY literature has been very abundant of late years. We have had memoirs of corporals, sergeants, subaltern and superior officers, histories of campaigns, and narratives of battles, till even the vast curiosity of the public seems to be in some degree satisfied. They are found to be all, with some varieties of circumstance, histories of the severest trials and sufferings which human nature can endure. These, combined with the bad passions excited by war, the callousness which almost necessarily takes possession of the heart of one who is the constant spectator of the sufferings of others, and the recklessness with which men sacrifice themselves, form a picture of horror, which can hardly be realized as a description of actual scenes, by those who have not been engaged in them, and which by those who have, cannot be contemplated or recollected without pain. It is not surprising that this species of writing has so much abounded. The military events of the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, were so extraordinary, and the interest which men feel in others for the dangers they have passed, is so strong, that we cannot wonder many

* Biblioth. Anc. et Mod. T. XXIII. p. 40.

should be found desirous of telling at least all that they know, and all that they have done. And we rejoice at it. Let the tale be told as often and as vividly as it may be. Let it be repeated till every one shall be fully impressed with its horrors. Let those who delight in 'the pomp, pride and circumstance of glorious war,' tell us what they know, disclose the charm, the fascination which leads them on to fill the world with tears, that we may judge of its value, and compare it with the sacrifices it require.

We trust we are not insensible to the excellence of the quality of courage; or to the sublimity which often attends its exercise; but we are persuaded that in this, as in many other gifts of nature, her liberality has been prodigal. To insure a sufficiency, she bestows a superfluity. Hence we see so many unnecessary displays of it; and hence a quality, which, under the guidance of reason, is one of the noblest and most important endowments of man, so often degenerates into a physical instinct, or a savage, brutal ferocity. There are few things more sublime than the spectacle presented by the man who is willing to sacrifice his life in defence of those rights which make life dear; and there is nothing in the history of the human race more sublime than the vindication of those rights by a whole people, through toil, poverty, suffering, and death. But what a vast, what an infinite distance between one of such a band of true heroes, and the soldier, who, for the pittance called his pay, hazards his own life, and that of others, in a cause which he neither understands nor cares for. Doubtless even he may imagine he is devoting himself to his country, to her glory or her advantage; and this redeems his course from the entire condemnation it would otherwise deserve. But how many thousands and tens of thousands have been enticed into the mad game, by the glitter of a uniform, or the splendor of a parade, without a thought of anything but the importance they would acquire by a red coat, or an epaulet. Is this a consideration sufficient to compensate for all the hardships and sufferings of a soldier? Is it for this that blood is to be poured out like water? Our readers will be better able to answer the question when they shall have perused a few extracts from the work before us. We do not undertake to vouch for the authenticity of these memoirs. John Shipp may be a mere *nom de guerre*; but we should imagine it impossible to describe so vividly the most striking scenes of a soldier's life, without having witnessed some-

thing similar. Take for instance, the following description of one of the attempts to storm Bhurtpore :—

‘Our ascent was found, for the fourth time, to be quite impossible: every man who showed himself was sure of death. The soldiers in the fort were in chain armour. I speak this from positive conviction, for I myself fired at one man three times in the bastion, who was not six yards from me, and he did not even bob his head. We were told afterward, that every man defending the breach was in full armour, which was a coat, breastplate, shoulderplates, and armlets, with a helmet and chain face-guard; so that our shots could avail but little. I had not been on the breach more than five minutes, when I was struck with a large shot on my back, thrown down from the top of the bastion, which made me lose my footing, and I was rolling down sideways, when I was brought up by a bayonet of one of our grenadiers passing through the shoe, into the fleshy part of the foot, and under the great toe. My fall carried everything down that was under me. The man who assisted me in getting up, was at that moment shot dead: his name was Courtenay, of the 22d Light Company. I regained my place time enough to see poor Lieutenant Templer who had planted the colour on the top, cut to pieces, by one of the enemy rushing out, and cutting him almost in two, as he lay flat upon his face on the top of the breach. The man was immediately shot dead, and trotted to the bottom of the ditch. I had not been in my new place long, when an—earthen pot, containing combustible matter, fell on my pouch, in which were about fifty rounds of ball cartridges. The whole exploded: my pouch I never saw more, and I was precipitated from the top to the bottom of the bastion. How I got there in safety, I know not; but when I came to myself, I found I was lying under the breach, with my legs in the water. I was much hurt from the fall, my face was severely scorched, my clothes much burnt, and all the hair on the back of my head burnt off. I for a time could not tell where I was. I crawled to the opposite side of the bank, and seated myself by a soldier of the same company, who did not know me. I sat here, quite unable to move, for some little time, till a cannon ball struck in the ditch, which knocked the mud all over me. This added greatly to the elegance of my appearance; and in this state I contrived, somehow or other, to crawl out of the ditch. At this moment the retreat was sounded, after every mortal effort had been made in vain.

‘The case was now deemed completely hopeless, and we were obliged to give up the contest, having lost, in killed and wounded, upwards of three thousand men (braver, or more zealous, never lived) against this fort. Of the twelve gallant fellows who com-

posed the third forlorn hope led by me, not one returned to reap the proffered reward of the Commander-in-Chief. Add to this, the loss of one of the best officers in our army, Captain Menzies, of the 22d Grenadier Company, Aid-de-Camp to Lord Lake. He fell endeavouring to rally some Native troops that were exposed to a galling fire, and began to give way. In this heroic attempt he lost his life, regretted by the whole army. Of our two companies, scarce a soul escaped uninjured. Near the breach, the dead, dying, and wounded, would have melted the heart of the most callous wretch; and, had not the little party who stormed the eleven-gun battery proved successful, few, if any, would have escaped the dreadful carnage. You must permit me to draw the gloomy shroud of mourning over this scene of misery and terror. The sad details of this siege have years ago been before the public; and here my personal services at Bhurtpore ended, leaving impressions, both on mind and body, that can never be obliterated.

‘In the course of the siege, frequent overtures were made from the fort, but of what nature I do not pretend to know. They were at last, however, obliged to come to our terms, which compelled them to pay all the expenses of the siege, &c., after which we raised the siege, and returned to camp. The loss of the enemy must have been immense; report said, five thousand men, women, and children; and, from the immense concourse of inhabitants in the town, with their families, that number does not appear to be at all improbable. Certain it is, that they must have been as heartily tired of it as we were.’—pp. 106–108.

It is difficult for men of peace to imagine, that the advantages acquired in war by a nation or by individuals, are anything like equivalent to the misery which it causes. The cost of it is seldom, if ever counted; and indeed it is not easy to estimate the value of life and limb, to measure pain of body or anguish of mind, to determine the precise amount of groans and tears, which may be balanced by the joy of victory, the pride of glory, or the more substantial rewards of power and profit. As the sufferings, therefore, which are the result of this scourge of nations, are, in their nature, inappreciable, we conceive that the only good cause of war, the only reasonable or plausible justification of a people or an individual, for engaging in the desperate struggle, is the acquisition or defence of rights, of powers, or of possessions, the value of which is equally above estimation. We are not, and we would not be thought to be, so foolishly recreant as to say there is nothing worth contending for. There is much with which God has blessed us, which we would defend at all hazards, and which can be enjoyed on no other terms.

Personal liberty and rights, the welfare of those who are dear to us, and the independence of our country as the means of possessing these, are to be struggled for, if need be, at the risk of life, because life, without them, is of little worth. These are things which the best men in all ages have thought worth fighting for, and which those who have learned to value them by their own experience, will surely never give up from fear of what man can do unto them. They are *our* birthright, and we trust none are to be found among us, who would not defend them at the same cost and risk by which they were won. They are well worth the purchase. But here we stop. There is nothing else in the wide circle of human motives which we can regard as a sufficient cause, either in an individual or a community, for incurring the tremendous risks and sufferings which war renders inevitable. Language is too feeble to express the feelings with which we think wars of ambition and conquest should be regarded; yet these have constituted by far the greatest portion of the wars which have desolated the world. Contests for national or personal independence, have been, and, one would think, must naturally be of rare occurrence, and as the world grows older and wiser, it is to be hoped they will become less and less necessary. Liberty will be achieved by less violent methods. If, then, men could be persuaded to regard with a just abhorrence, those wars which have for their object the acquisition of territory, and the aggrandizement of a nation or an individual at the expense of others, there would be an encouraging prospect of comparative repose to the world. And we cannot believe it impossible that men should learn to prize what is really valuable, and to avoid what is really pernicious. If there be anything more desirable than liberty and peace, or more hateful than oppression and war, we have it yet to learn; and we are far from despairing or even doubting that the time will come, when 'nation shall not rise up against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' We think we can discern, in the course of God's providence, strong symptoms of the gradual, and therefore sure approach of such a period. We can only glance at a few of the indications of this result; it would lead us too far to follow the subject in detail.

Vast empires, founded upon force, and held together by fear, have always crumbled into pieces as rapidly as they have risen and just in proportion to the oppression with which their power has been exercised, has been the suddenness and appalling

character of their overthrow. On the contrary, possessions obtained without violation of the rights of others, and supported by the determination of men who respect themselves as well as their neighbours, have been confirmed by time, and strengthened by the course of events. Warlike ambition must receive a check by the establishment of republican governments in so large a portion of the civilized world as is now either in possession of them, or struggling to acquire them. By republican forms men are enabled to govern themselves, and however strongly they may desire to see others in the same circumstances, they will surely not undertake to force them to adopt the means of self-government by warlike aggression. The arts of peace and of self-defence are almost necessarily those which distinguish free governments. Every day is confirming the strength of such as already exist, and brightening the prospect of those which are forming. If we look, therefore, to the past, we find a valuable lesson from experience; and if we look to the future, we see new prospects opening upon the world of liberty and peace, which are, in the highest degree, consoling and delightful. We know that the progress of mankind in this, as in all other good, must be slow; it is enough for us that it is certain.

We look upon such books as the one which we have mentioned, as accessories of no mean value to the good work of improvement. The memoirs of Shipp are not the labored production of a student in his closet, but the vivid descriptions of a man who has been strongly impressed with what he has seen. There is sometimes a tone of exaggeration, but we feel little doubt that the work is, in the main, a faithful picture of the life of a soldier and a subaltern. We have seldom read such horrid narratives of wholesale destruction of friend and foe, or seen so bare an exhibition of inadequate motives, as in this book. Our readers have had a specimen of the descriptions, though we assure them, by no means the most dreadful, and we shall not pain them by presenting the most shocking. Our author says, in one place, on the occasion of receiving some commendation from his superiors, 'Glory had been my motto; laurels were my crown!' And what, after all, was the amount of his glory and his laurels? Distinguishing himself by his boldness in battle, he twice rose from the ranks to a lieutenancy. The first time, he sold out, to raise money to pay for some foolish extravagances; and the second time, he was

dismissed the service in disgrace. What a glorious reward for years of alternate *ennui* and violent excitement, for wounds, danger, and toil. And how flattering to others of similar character, that a man who had acquired so large a share of the glory they seek, should be unable to keep the commission he had obtained; that a cashiered officer should surpass them all in the pursuit of—honor.

One other remark is suggested to us by a passage of this book. The intense excitements of war are often alleged as a sort of apology for those who devote themselves to the profession. Doubtless the love of excitement is very powerful in all men; but we think it will admit of a question whether the lives even of foxes and hares ought to be sacrificed to that passion; and we conceive there can be no question that a rational being should find some other way of gratifying it besides taking the life of his fellow men. Who can wish to be in the condition described in the following sentences?

‘In action man is quite another being: the softer feelings of the roused heart are absorbed in the vortex of danger and the necessity for self-preservation, and give place to others more adapted to the occasion. In these moments there is an indescribable elation of spirits; the soul rises above its wonted serenity into a kind of phrenzied apathy to the scene before you, a heroism bordering on ferocity; the nerves become tight and contracted; the eye full and open, moving quickly in its socket, with almost maniac wildness; the head is in constant motion; the nostril extended wide, and the mouth apparently gasping. If an artist could truly delineate the features of a soldier in the battle’s heat, and compare them with the lineaments of the same man in the peaceful calm of domestic life, they would be found to be two different portraits;—but a sketch of this kind is not within the power of art, for in action the countenance varies with the battle: as the battle brightens, so does the countenance; and, as it lowers, so the countenance becomes gloomy.’—pp. 86, 87.

Does any man wish to look and act like a maniac? Is it any justification of war as a trade that its excitement is great? Surely not. ‘It is the cause, it is the cause!’ alone, which can incline any wise man to the infliction or endurance of its evils.

C. Dewey.

ART. V.—*Sources of Infidelity ; the Tenth Discourse in the new Volume of Buckminster's Sermons.* Boston. Carter & Hendee. 1829.

WE have lately taken notice of this volume of sermons, and we now single out one of them and place it at the head of the discussion which we propose to ourselves in the following article, partly because it falls in with the general design of the observations we have to offer, and partly because it suggests a remark naturally prefatory to our present undertaking. For it is a singular fact, and if the matter were not one of very grave import, we should say it is curious, that while the publications of no class of Christians contain more frequent and earnest defences of Christianity against unbelievers, while we constantly maintain that our own views, as we think, are, for inquiring minds, a safeguard from skepticism, we are nevertheless, in the teeth of all this evidence to the contrary, and in spite of all the disclamations that language can utter, pertinaciously and perpetually charged with being ourselves infidels. Is this a day when Christianity can so easily afford to part with whole hosts of its professors and defenders? For, in truth, if unbelievers were disposed to take us at our word, they might allege that not much less than half of Christendom is either already infidel, or rapidly hastening to the denial of its faith ; for the one or the other of these allegations Protestant sects are constantly making against each other, or Catholics are making against them all. It is indeed a sad state of things, but it yields one comfort ; for we think that the weakest member of our denomination must feel relieved from all anxiety about these gratuitous and gross charges which are brought against us, save that which he feels for the honor of Christianity itself.

We have now made the remark suggested by the sermon before us, and, we might add, by other productions bearing the same hallowed name, as well as by the current and cherished works of the christian apologists that are constantly recommended and circulated among us. It is when we think of the blessed spirits that have departed from us in the faith of Jesus, it is when we call to mind, too, that many and many a one whom we know, is resting an aching head and a broken heart on that precious reliance, that we are tempted to write words of indignant remonstrance against such attacks as have lately been made

upon us in a neighbouring publication. But our 'spirit takes another tone' at the present time, and it is one, we think, which the occasion as well as the gospel we profess, should awaken. And indeed we are disposed to offer some calm and useful observations, if we can, on this great subject of belief and unbelief, rather than to enter the lists of personal recrimination with those who ought to feel, if not too much as brethren, at least too much as men, to exult with apparent delight, over what they profess to think our fatal skepticism.

It has become very important, as it seems to us, that the advocates of a divine revelation should carefully and accurately define the ground which they undertake to defend. In logical order, this task is preliminary to the defence itself. Our position is to be taken before it is to be maintained. What is it to believe in a revelation? Or, in other words, what is the question between the believer, and the unbeliever? This we shall undertake to define, in the first place, and then shall offer some general remarks on belief and unbelief.

There are two methods by which mankind may arrive at the knowledge of truth. The one is, by observation, by reflection, by reasoning, by the natural exercise of the human faculties. The other is, by a supernatural communication from Heaven; and this is different from, and superior to, reasoning, observation, intuition, impulse, and every known operation of the human mind. Now we contend that it is in a communication of this nature that our scriptures originated.

But let us consider more particularly the vehicle of this communication—the scriptures. It is on this point that believers differ somewhat among themselves. And it is from rash positions on this subject, or from marking too negligently and too broadly the lines of defence, that the advocates of a revelation expose themselves to the strongest attacks of infidelity. The scriptures, then, it might seem needless to say, are not the actual communication made to the minds that were inspired from Above; but they are a '*declaration*' of those things which were most surely believed among them.* They are not the actual word of God, but they are a '*record of the word of God.*'† They are of the nature of a testimony. 'We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen.'‡ This distinction, obvious as it may seem, is not without its importance; and it

* Luke i. 1.

† Rev. i. 2.

‡ John iii. 11.

unhappily derives some consequence from the earnestness with which it is opposed. To say so simple a thing as that the bible is not the original, the very revelation made to the prophets and apostles, but the record of that revelation, is an excess of temerity, thought to be worthy of the most heinous charges.

But the distinction is intrinsically important. It is important to make the discrimination, and to say, that the communication of light and truth was one thing, and the record of that communication another. The communication was divine ; the record was human. It was, strictly speaking and every way, a human act. The manner, the style, the phraseology, the choice of words, the order of thought, the selection of figures, comparisons, arguments, to enforce the communication, was altogether a human work. It was as purely human, as peculiarly individual in the case of every witness, as his accent, attitude, or gesture, when delivering his message. And, indeed, we might as well demand that Paul's gesture or intonation on Mars' Hill, should be faultless, as to demand that the style of his letter to the Galatians should be faultless ; for, in truth, the action and the accent were as truly a part of the communication, as the words employed to set it forth. We are about to argue for this general position, and in doing so we shall more clearly define and guard it ; but we wished to state it with some precision in the outset. If there ever were productions which showed the free and fervent workings of human thought and feeling, they are our scriptures. We know not how it is possible for any one candidly to read, or thoroughly to study them, without coming to this conclusion. And we say, therefore, that the question between the believer and the unbeliever, is, not whether the words of this communication are grammatically the best words, not whether the illustrations are rhetorically the best illustrations, not whether the arguments are logically the best arguments ; but the question is, whether there is any communication at all ? Let any man admit this, let him admit it in any shape, and though there may be difficulties and disputes, we shall find no difficulty in settling beyond all dispute, some truths from the scriptures—and truths, too, of dearer concern to us than all the visible interests of this world.

But is this view of the bible a right and safe one ? To this question let us now proceed.

1. Let us, as the first step, proceed to inquire of the scriptures themselves. We say, then, that what has now been stat-

ed, is the natural, and we might say the unavoidable impression which a reader would take from the perusal of the scriptures. The vehicle of revelation is language. The things we have to deal with are words. They are not divine symbols of thought; they are not pure essences of ideas; they are words. The vehicle, we say, is language. We shall soon undertake to show, that language is, from its very nature, an imperfect instrument of communication. But, for the present, we only say, that the language of revelation is the natural language of the period to which, and of the men to whom we refer it. The idioms of speech, the peculiarities of style, the connexions and dependences of thought and reasoning, the bursts of feeling, all seem to us as natural in the bible as they are in any other book. We see ideas, indeed, that we ascribe to inspiration; but we see no evidence, we can discern no appearance of any supernatural influence created upon the *style*, either to make it perfect, or to prevent it from being imperfect. Let us compare the scriptures with other writings. If we open almost any book, especially any book written in a fervent and popular style, we can perceive, on an accurate analysis, that some things were hastily written, some things negligently, some things not in the exact logical order of thought; that some things are beautiful in style, and others coarse and inelegant; that some things are clear, and others obscure or 'hard to be understood.' And do we not find all these things in the scriptures? What is a sound and rational criticism but a discernment of just such things as these? What is peculiarity of style but something preceding from the particular mind of the writer—but something, therefore, partaking, not of divine ideas, but of human conceptions? And who has more of this peculiarity of style than John, or Paul? And now suppose that Paul had written a letter to any one of his friends on religion, and had written not in his apostolical character—that he had said, as he sometimes did say, this is 'not from the Lord?' Can any rational man doubt, whether that letter would have exhibited the same style as his recorded epistles?

If such, then, be the natural impression arising from the perusal of the scriptures, we are so to receive them, unless they themselves direct us otherwise. Do they direct us otherwise? Do they anywhere tell us that the manner of writing, the style, the words, came from immediate divine suggestion, or were subject to miraculous superintendence? To us it is clear that

the passages usually adduced in support of these views of inspiration, fall entirely short of the positions they are brought to establish. 'All scripture is given by inspiration of God ;' and 'holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ;'—these are the passages. Now the question is, whether these declarations refer to the matter of revelation, or to the style ; to the substance of the communication, or to the form ; to the thing testified, given, spoken, or to the manner of speaking, imparting, testifying. We say, to the matter, the substance, the thing testified. Others insist, that reference is had to the style, the form, the manner, also. There is nothing in the words to decide between us, and we must have resort, therefore, to general considerations. We must go to the general aspect and obvious character of the sacred writings. And on this subject we have a statement to make, which is worthy of special observation. So strong is the aspect of *naturalness* upon the whole face of the scriptures, so marked are the peculiarities of individual thought, manner, and style, that many of the most learned and profound Orthodox scholars have given up the doctrine of immediate suggestion, and retain only that of a general superintendence. But we surely may remind them, that the scriptures themselves furnish as little warrant for the doctrine of superintendence as for that of suggestion. If the passages before quoted prove anything with regard to style, they prove immediate suggestion. If they prove nothing on this point, then the bible does not anywhere ; for they are the strongest in the bible.

The doctrine of superintendence, undoubtedly, comes not from the scriptures, but from what is thought to be the exigency of the case. It is introduced to save the sacred writings from the charge of possible error ; a charge which we shall by and by undertake to show, does not, in anything material, attach to them, on what we think to be a more rational and unincumbered theory. We see no need of supposing the apostles, for instance, to have spoken and written under any other influence than that of truth and goodness—truth supernaturally communicated to them, but not by them supernaturally taught. The teaching, in short, is full of nature and truth. And we should, with as much reason, demand that Paul's speech should have been freed from that impediment, or infirmity, which made some among the Corinthians declare it to be 'contemptible,' as that his style should be freed from those obscurities

those imperfections, in other words, which made Peter say that it is 'hard to be understood.' And we might as well say, that when his accent or gesture was liable to be wrong, there was a divine superintendence or interference to put it right, as to say this with regard to his written expressions, his figures and illustrations, his style and mode of communication.

2. That there was no supernatural perfection, or accuracy, or infallibility in the scriptural style or mode of communication, we think any one may be convinced by considering, in the next place, the very nature of language.

Human language is essentially and unavoidably an imperfect mode of communication. It is sufficiently correct; but the idea of absolute perfection or infallibility, if it were rightly and rigidly considered, does not and cannot belong to it. We are not merely saying, now, that the style of our christian teachers is not perfect, according to the laws of rhetoric; that it is not perfect Greek. That is admitted on all hands. But we say that it is not perfect, because it cannot be perfect, as an instrument of thought. Perfection and imperfection in this matter are words of comparison. Absolutely, they do not apply to language. Excellence, or, if any one pleases to call it so, perfection in style, is something relative. It is relative, for instance, to the age and country in which it is delivered. What is perfect for one people and period, is not perfect for another. It would happen, then, that even if the sacred style had possessed some unintelligible perfection for its own age, it would have lost it for the next, and for every succeeding age. Is it not felt by every judicious commentator, that the ancient phraseology in which the scriptures are clothed, throws great difficulties in the way of understanding them? Are not these difficulties such, that the mass of mankind cannot, of themselves, understand certain passages, and must receive the explanation of them on trust? To what purpose is it, then, to argue for the infallibility of the sacred style?—Language is also relative to the mind—the mind absolutely considered. A perfect or infallible language must be that which conveys perfect or infallible thoughts to the mind. But now when we talk about perfect or infallible thoughts, are we not very much beyond our depth? Can any instrument convey to us thoughts which are perfect, which are capable of being no more clear or true, which are never to be changed in the slightest degree, in all the coming and brightening dispensations of our being? To us,

it seems as if there were great presumption in the prevailing language about truth and error. As if any sect or any set of men, called Christians, or called by any other name—as if any human being held the absolute, the abstractly pure, and unchangeable truth! As if any creed, or language, or human thought *could* escape every taint of error—as if it could put off all limitation, obscurity, peculiarity and everything that marks it as belonging to a finite and frail nature! ‘To err is human.’ It is a part of our dispensation to find our way to truth through error. The perfect is wrought out from the imperfect. We see this in children; and in this respect, we are all but children. ‘Error,’ says Goethe, ‘can never be cured, but by erring.’

The thought came pure from the All-revealing Mind; but when it entered the mind of a prophet or apostle, it became a human conception. It could be nothing else, unless that mind, by being inspired, became superhuman. The inspired truth became the subject of human perception, feeling, and imagination; and when it was communicated to the world, it was clothed with human language; and that perception, feeling, imagination, lent its aid to this communication, as truly as to any writings that ever were penned. It is this, next to the authority of the scriptures—it is this naturalness, simplicity, pathos, and earnestness of manner, that give them such life and power.

The case, then, stands thus. It has pleased God to adopt human language as the instrument of his communications to men—an instrument sufficiently correct, though not absolutely perfect. We might as reasonably demand that the men should be faultless, as that the style should be faultless. Neither were so. And as the faults and mistakes of the men, do not invalidate the sufficiency of their main testimony, still less would any faults or inaccuracies of their style, figures, illustrations, or arguments, if proved to exist, set aside the great, interesting, and, among Christians, the unquestioned matters of revelation, which they have laid before us.

3. A word, now, in the third place, on the unavoidable or actual concessions, upon this subject, among all intelligent and sober Christians. Let us see if they do not lead us to the same result. It must be admitted that the inspired penmen usually wrote in conformity with the philosophy of their respective ages,—in conformity, therefore, with some portions of natural and metaphysical philosophy that are false. The com-

mon remark on this subject, is, that they did not profess to give instructions on astronomy, demonology, or metaphysics, but on religion. In briefly passing this point, we should like to ask those who so zealously insist that the phrase, 'All scripture is given by inspiration of God,' refers to every word, or to every idea in the bible, what they are to do with the Mosaic theory of the solar system, and of the starry heavens? But to proceed with the concessions to which we have referred. It cannot be denied that there are some slight discrepancies in the evangelical narratives. And, indeed, the common and the very just answer to this allegation in our books of evidences, is, that these differences, so far from weakening the testimony, strengthen it, by showing that there was no collusion among the witnesses. Once more, it is common now to admit, that the bible is to be interpreted as other books are. But we do not see how it is possible to enter thoroughly into the spirit of this rule, unless the *composition* of the bible is looked upon as a human work—a work produced by the natural operation of human thought and feeling. If there was frequent and supernatural interference with the writer's natural mode of expressing himself, such a fact, it seems to us, would seriously disturb the application of the rule laid down, and would, in fact, warrant many of those superstitious and irrational views of the scriptures, which are fatal to just criticism and sound scholarship.

If, then, it be admitted that there are among our sacred books, mistakes in philosophy, and discrepancies, however slight, in statements of facts, and if the bible is subject to the ordinary rules of criticism on language, the inference seems unavoidable, that these writings, so far as their composition is concerned, are to be regarded as possessing a properly and purely human character.

4. But we come now to the great difficulty and objection. It is said that if these views are correct, the bible is a fallible book, and unworthy of reliance. We maintain, therefore, in the fourth place, that the infallibility which many Christians contend for, and upon the defence of which unbelievers are willing enough to put them, is, in our apprehension, unnecessary to the validity and sufficiency of the communication.

What is a revelation? It is simply the communication of certain truths to mankind; truths, indeed, which they could not otherwise have fully understood or satisfactorily determined; but truths nevertheless as easy to be communicated as

any other. Why then is there any more need of supernatural assistance in this case, than in any other? We are constantly speaking to one another without any fear of being misunderstood. We are constantly reading books without any of this distrust—and books, too, written by men in every sense fallible, which the scripture writers, in regard to the revelation made to them, are not. Nay, we are reading books of abstruse philosophy, in the full confidence that we understand the general doctrines laid down. But the matters of revelation are not abstruse. They are designed to be understood by the mass of mankind. They are designed, like the light, to shine upon man's daily path. What if a man should say he cannot trust the light of the sun, and will not walk by it, because it comes through so earthly and fallible a medium as the atmosphere? The air, certainly, is an imperfect medium of light. There are motes and mists and clouds in it. Yet we have not the least doubt, that we see the sun, and the path that we walk in, and the objects around us. It does not destroy the nature of light that it comes to us through the dense and variable atmosphere; and it does not destroy the nature of truth that it comes to us through the medium of human language.

But let us descend to particulars. What particular truth, then, that either does belong to revelation, or has been conceived to belong to it, requires an infallible style, or a supernatural influence for its communication? Not the Messiahship of Jesus, and his living, teaching, suffering, and dying to save us from sin and misery; not the assurance of God's paternal love and mercy and care for us; not the simple but solemn and most glorious doctrine of a future life; not precept, not promise, not warning, nor encouragement, nor offered grace and aid. But suppose it be contended that more belongs to the revelation—'fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.' Suppose it be conceded, that the matter of any or every creed that Christians have made, belongs to it. Yet their makers, we presume, will not maintain that any inspiration or supernatural guidance is necessary to set forth these matters. *They* surely cannot feel any particular distrust about the powers of language. They who have made creeds on purpose to remedy the imperfections, or clear up the obscurities, or settle the uncertainties of the scriptural communication—*they* surely are not the persons we have to contend with in this argument.

'But ah!' it is said, 'this sort of reasoning leads to infidel-

ity.' 'Save us from infidelity,' the objector might more truly say. This, at least, is the purpose of our reasonings; and we believe it is their tendency. Unbelievers have derived more plausible and just objections from the prevailing theological assumptions with regard to our sacred books, than from any other quarter. The attacks which are usually made upon the philosophy of Moses, the imprecations of David, the differences among the apostles, the obscurities of Paul, and upon instances of puerility, coarseness, and indelicacy in style, or inappositeness in illustration, are all of this nature. If it were considered that the successive communications which God has made to the world, have borne upon them the signs and marks of their successive ages—if it were considered, that the light, in its visitations to the earth, has struggled through the medium of human imperfection, through mists of prejudice, and clouds—often, indeed, gorgeous clouds of imagination, many difficulties and objections of this sort would be removed.

'But how shall we know what is true and what is false; what belonged to the age, and what to the light?' This difficulty is more specious than real. When applied in detail to the scriptures, it will be found to amount to very little. There can be no doubt, for instance, about matters of morality and duty. Indeed, it has often been admitted by our christian apologists, that a revelation was not so much needed to tell us what is right, as to give sanctions for it. Then, again, with regard to these sanctions, with regard to the future good and evil, we believe no one has ever pretended to deny them, or ever will, on the ground that the sacred writers may have been mistaken. Very few, indeed, do deny them. The great body of Universalists, as we are informed, now believe in a future retribution. And so, as to all the absolute doctrines of scripture, there is no dispute about the authority on which they rest. The only question is, whether some of the illustrations are judicious, belonging as they do to the school of Jewish allegory; and whether one or two of the arguments of Paul are logical. But this question, surely, does not touch matters that fairly belong to the very different department of immediate inspiration. 'Whoever appeals to reason,' it has been very justly said, 'waves, *quo ad hoc*, his claim to inspiration.' When an inspired teacher says to us, 'This doctrine is true'—that is one thing—we receive the declaration on his simple authority. But when he says, 'I can prove this to you by a series of arguments'—that is another thing. When he says, 'this is true, be-

cause'—the utterance of that word arouses our reason. It is not implicit faith that is then demanded, but an attentive consideration of the force of arguments. The thing argued demands faith ; but the argument, from its very nature, appeals to reason ; and it is the very office of reason to judge whether the argument is sound and sufficient. And so when a sacred writer says, ' This doctrine is true, and it is *like* such a thing, or it may be so illustrated,' he appeals to our judgment and taste, and we may, without in the least questioning the thing asserted, inquire into the fitness, force, and elegance of the illustration, allegory, or figure, by which it is set forth.

5. If now any one shall say that this amounts to a rejection of Christianity—if for any purpose, fair or unfair, if with any intention, honest or dishonest, he shall take it upon him to say, that in advocating these views of inspiration we are no better than infidels in disguise, we cannot descend from the ground we occupy, we should not think it decent, with the known professions which we make, to dispute the point with him. But we would remind him, since he seems to need instruction more than argument, that many of the brightest lights and noblest defenders of our religion fully maintain the ground we have taken, to be christian ground. Erasmus says, ' It is not necessary that we should refer everything in the apostolic writings, immediately to supernatural aid. Christ suffered his disciples to err, even after the Holy Ghost was sent down, but not to the endangering of the faith.' Grotius says, ' It was not necessary that the matters narrated, should be dictated by the Holy Spirit ; it was enough that the writer had a good memory.' ' It is possible,' says the learned Michaelis, ' to doubt, and even to deny the inspiration of the New Testament, [he means inspiration not only of words, but of ideas, which we do not deny,] and yet to be fully persuaded of the truth of the christian religion.' Because, he argues, the facts being true, the testimony being one of ordinary validity, the religion must be true. On this observation of Michaelis, Bishop Marsh says, ' Here our author makes a distinction which is at present very generally received, between the divine origin of the christian doctrine, and the divine origin of the writings in which that doctrine is recorded.' ' The wisdom contained in the Epistles of Paul,' says Dr Powell, late Master of St John's College, Cambridge, ' was given him from Above, and very probably the style and composition were his own.' Dr Paley makes the same distinction. ' In

reading the apostolic writings,' he observes, 'we distinguish between their doctrines and their arguments. Their doctrines came to them by revelation, properly so called; yet in propounding these doctrines, they were wont to illustrate, support, and enforce them by such analogies, arguments, and considerations as their own thoughts suggested.' To the same purpose, Bishop Burnet. 'When,' says he, 'divine writers argue upon any point, we are always bound to believe the conclusions that their reasonings end in, as parts of divine revelation; but we are not bound to be able to make out, or even to assent to, all the premises made use of by them in their whole extent, unless it appear plainly that they affirm the premises as expressly as they do the conclusions proved by them.'

We have thus endeavoured to free the scriptures from the burden of supporting a character, to which, as we believe, they nowhere lay any claim—the character, that is, of being, in every minute particular, perfect and infallible compositions. The question, we now repeat, the momentous, the most interesting question between the believer and the unbeliever, is, whether God has made special and supernatural communications of his wisdom and will to man, and whether the bible contains those communications? To us, it appears of great consequence, that the controversy should be disembarassed from all extraneous difficulties, and should be reduced to this simple point. We repeat it, therefore, that when prophet or apostle presents himself to us as a messenger from God, we receive him in the simple and actual character, which has been marked out in this discussion. We consider him as saying, 'I bear to you a message from God, to which I demand reverent heed; I give you, from divine inspiration, assurance of certain solemn and momentous truths; but I do not say that every word and phrase I use, every simile and allegory and consideration by which I endeavour to explain or enforce my message, is divine, any more than that my countenance, speech, and action are divine. The distinction is easy, and you ought not to misapprehend it. I speak to you from God; but still I am a man. I speak after the manner of men, and for the peculiarities of my own manner, mind, country, and age, I do not presume to make the Universal and Eternal Wisdom answerable.' It is as when an earthly government sends its ambassador to a revolted province. The person invested with such a character has a two-fold office to discharge. He has to lay down propositions, to

make offers of forgiveness and reconciliation. These are from the government. He has to explain and urge these propositions and offers, by such language, illustrations, and arguments as the exigency requires. These are from himself. 'It is thus,' might the ambassador of God say, 'it is thus that I address the children of men. My message is divine; my manner of delivering it, is human.'

And albeit it were a man that spoke thus to us, and however it might be that he spoke after the manner of men, yet if he could say with a voice of authority and assurance, 'God is love; like as a father pitieth his children, so God pities you; he watches over you with a kind care; he offers you forgiveness, and redemption from sin; he opens to you the path of immortal life;'—if he could say these things, it would be a message which no words could adequately express. We should not say as the ancient skeptics did of Paul, 'His bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible,' although he should offend our taste, or our prejudices, in every phrase or figure by which he communicated the glorious truth. We should rather, with the Galatians, 'receive him as an angel of God,' and would kiss the hem of his garment though the storms of every sea, and the dust and stripes of every city had rent and soiled it. There is nothing on earth of privilege, distinction, or blessing to compare with this simple faith. How many a stricken and sorrowing mind has been supported and soothed by that holy reliance. How many a bleeding heart has stanchd its wounds in that healing fountain. How many a spirit, wearied with the vanities, or worn down with the cares of this world, has sought that blessed refuge. Nor is it trouble, or sorrow, or sickness, or bereavement only that has resorted here, and could go nowhere else; but the boundless, the ever craving soul, that sighs for an immortal life and an infinite good, how often has it exclaimed, 'To whom shall I go?—Thou hast the words of everlasting life!' To tell us that all which we believe is nothing, because it does not come up to the demands of some technical creed, or for any other reason, seems to us an absurdity and madness of assertion, at which, instead of inveighing, we can only wonder.

We not only believe ourselves, and believe things as matters of divine revelation, that are of transcendent and inexpressible interest, but we are anxious that others should believe. We are anxious, if our pages should fall into the hands of any

who are disposed to doubt, to say a few words to them on this great subject of believing and disbelieving. We are of opinion, indeed, though it may seem very presumptuous in us to say so, that the full strength of the argument for Christianity has not yet been exhibited. We think that the clearer developement of certain moral truths, and of the mind itself, is throwing light upon this subject.

But the pages of a review do not afford space for so wide a discussion. Instead of advancing into this field—and our aim thus far has been only to define its boundaries,—we shall now recede a step, in order to view it in those broader aspects, which must present themselves to men as men, whether believers or unbelievers; which must present themselves to beings constituted and circumstanced as men are.

We say, then, in the first place, that to all men it is desirable to believe. It is desirable to believe that there is a God; that he is a good being; that he exercises a providence over the earth; that he has made communications of his will to men, both special and ordinary; that Jesus Christ is really a teacher from God; that Christianity, in its pure precepts, its enlightening doctrines, its gracious encouragements, its comforting assurances of God's love, its great revelation of immortality, is true. We say and insist, it is desirable to believe these things. Every man must wish them to be true. At least, every man, in his senses, we were ready to say—every good man, certainly, who is not insane, must wish them to be true. They must appear intrinsically desirable to him; desirable for their own sake; desirable, because, if truths, they are most glorious truths. Put skepticism in the place of any of these matters of belief; let atheism stand instead of the acknowledgment of a God; let infidelity be true and Christianity be not true, or let distrust in general be substituted for reliance—and in each of these cases every one must feel, that he has put darkness in the place of light, and covered with blank desolation a region of life and beauty. Candid unbelievers have always acknowledged this. They have wished they could believe. We do not say that the desirableness of this faith is a sufficient sanction for it; we only say for the present that it is desirable.

But we go on, now, to observe in the second place, that a mind penetrated with a just and reasonable admiration for God's works and perfections, is, for that reason, much more likely to believe in his spiritual communications, in his visitations of

mercy and promise to the human race. There is a belief arising from this source, which is intuitive ; and which, although to some it may seem visionary, and sometimes perhaps is so, yet, being *rightly* derived, is capable, we think, of being vindicated, as altogether reasonable and well grounded.

Suppose a man with the bare light of nature to aid him, should come to entertain, as he well might, the most affecting and delightful conceptions of the character of his Maker. Suppose that his mind was often absorbed in admiration of God and of his works ; that he should feel, as he stood amidst the fair and beautiful creation, that God's wisdom was infinite, that his love was infinite, that he loved every creature he had made, that his ear of mercy was ever open to the cry of distress and want, that all things praised the gracious and tender kindness of the Creator. And now, should the voice of all things enter into his heart, and fill it with the most intense and impassioned love to the mighty and wonderful Being who made all things, we ask you, whoever you are that are capable of reasoning and feeling, if you would not approve of the emotions of his heart. There can be but one answer. But if you *would* approve of his feelings, let us remind you that those feelings, from their very nature, would be fast rising to reliance, and that reliance would naturally ripen into faith. A heart, swelling with emotions of gratitude and love, would find it easy to believe that the merciful Creator had interposed for the salvation of his perishing children ; that he had not left the soul to die for want of needful provision and care ; that he had opened to its panting desire and its passionate cry, the paths of an immortal life.

An affectionate heart is a confiding heart. A mind filled with the love of God, would feel a kind of assurance that God would not disregard its strongest and holiest aspirations, that he would not turn a deaf ear to its pleadings for light, and grace, and consolation. Such a mind would be ready to say, in the words of the ancient trust, 'The Lord will speak, and he will not keep silence.' Its prayer would be fast turning to assurance, and its faith to vision. Having the affectionate, that is the believing disposition, it would have 'the witness in itself Doing 'the will of God, it would know of the doctrine.'

We believe, that it is thus given as a kind of reward to the most pious and spiritual minds, to have no doubts. And we believe that it is by swerving from such a mind, by departing from the fervent and tender love of God, that some, not to say

many, fall into a general skepticism about providence, and the kind intentions of Heaven to its creatures, and its gracious promises of immortal life to the dying. We would not rashly trace speculative results to moral causes, to moral states of mind; that is, we would not measure a man's virtue by his creed. We know that professed unbelievers in the scriptures, for instance, have often possessed great amiableness, and a very high degree of social worth. But have they been equally distinguished for *the love of God*? This is the discriminative quality, of whose efficacy to prevent unbelief we are speaking. We know that doubting and believing spring from many causes; but we do think, that an ardent, generous, confiding piety, such as nature ought to inspire, would hold many minds to a faith, from which without it they may swerve. And surely he who does not devotedly love the Infinite Parent, lacks the most essential qualification for judging of what that Parent has done or will do, for his children. He who does not pray much, should not judge much; he who does not often and habitually place himself in the light of the divine perfections, should not judge much of their manifestation.

One thing, at least, we think is certain. A bad mind is more likely to disbelieve, than a good mind; a worldly more than a spiritual, an irreligious than a pious mind. A bad mind, estranged from God, averse to restraint, loving indulgence, and desiring impunity in sin, will not like to believe much concerning God's interference with human affairs; will not like to believe much of his inspection of the heart, his providence over the mind, his purpose to reward the good and to punish the guilty.

We do not say that unbelief has always arisen solely from such a cause. But we say, what every one, as a matter of mere logical inference, must admit, that such a cause is peculiarly favorable to it. We say, in fine, that the good states and tendencies of the mind, are much more likely to lead to belief in the great fundamental truths of our religion, than to disbelief.

But we now proceed to our third remark on the general subject of belief and unbelief. We have said that belief is desirable, and that it is natural to every good mind. We now say, that it is indispensable to the mind in its intrinsic nature and absolute wants. We mean, that to the mind by itself consid-

ered, to the mind left to itself, the great truths of religion are indispensable.

It is not often that the mind *is* so left ; in the experience of some, it never is. They pass through life, or they pass many years of it, without well knowing what they are, or what they need ; without once fully awaking from the sleep of the senses, or recovering themselves from the dreams of worldly cares, to feel what a nature God has placed within them. But did they feel this ; did their thoughts sometimes retire to the secret and silent chambers of the soul ; did the urgent and absorbing impression of outward things fade away from the mind, and leave it to itself, it would then be felt, as it will be felt when this world is actually fading from the senses forever, that the great truths of religion are indispensable ; that they are the strength of the soul, without which it can no more be supported, than the body can be supported without its sinews ; that they are the pillars of the soul, without which it must fall into irretrievable ruin.

There are some things that *bring* the mind to itself, and seem mercifully ordained by Heaven for this purpose. The long series of disappointments that ends in the extinction of all expectation from this world ; the shock of calamity that breaks down and scatters all worldly reliances ; the times of deep and chastened meditation, when all the riches and ambition and struggles of life pass before the mind as a 'vain show,' and the more spiritual hours which affliction ordains for us—the hours when the thoughts are all spiritual, when they dwell upon a spiritual world, when this world is all a dream, and the soul looks for its waking to life, to another and future being—these are seasons and scenes, which teach man, as with the voice of God, that nothing but the faith of what is spiritual and immortal can give repose or refuge to him. Pleasure may satisfy the senses, riches may satisfy avarice, and power ambition ; but it must be some spiritual good which shall satisfy the soul, some enduring good that shall appease its immortal cravings, some boundless good that shall fill its infinite desires. Nay, even sensuality, avarice, and ambition, though but lower wants of our nature, yet partaking as they do of the vastness of the mind with which they are temporarily connected, can find nothing on earth to yield *them* entire satisfaction. How, then, shall the loftier powers, the unbounded demands of the spirit, be

ever met by anything less than the invisible and eternal objects of faith.

We say that human nature, in the calm and deep consciousness of what it is, or in that developement which trouble and calamity give it, cannot dispense with these objects of faith—a God, a providence, an offered mercy, and an eternal heaven. There are states or modifications of the mind, in which the want may not be felt; but it is not so with that mind itself, in its essential principles and its legitimate actings. The miser, by himself considered, can, amidst his sordid aims, dispense with loftier principles; the voluptuary, during his short lived pleasure, can dispense with them; the worldling, in his limited sphere, can do without them; but the *man* cannot dispense with them; the *man*, all-conscious, alive, awake, and glowing with the intense workings of thought and feeling, cannot do without them.

Take man in the noblest form of his character—take the man who is most truly man, and this which we have considered as a matter of reflection, will be seen to be matter of fact. We have an instance of this in the great poet of Germany—we refer to Goethe. His early days were days of skepticism; and they were days of as dark a struggle with despondency, *ennui*, and anguish, as ever shook almost to dissolution the elements that are mysteriously bound up in the human heart. In the bitterness of his sorrow, and the blackness of his despair, arising from religious skepticism, he often contemplated suicide; and many nights, he says, he laid a dagger by his bedside, hoping to gather up courage for the awful plunge into the certain realities of another world, or the dark gulf of annihilation. And it was only by struggling through these cloudy and chaotic elements of fear, doubt, and strife, to the firm ground of faith, it was only—we speak now of what his encomiasts say, and not as critics on his works,—it was only by welcoming to his heart the sweet peace of believing, and the needful supports of a religious trust, that Goethe recovered the power and joy of his existence, and became the light and praise of Germany. And it is in minds like his, that the need of religious faith and trust is most powerfully felt. It is sometimes said, we know, that believing is very important to the mass of mankind. It has been a skeptical adage indeed, conveying the scornful implication that faith is more needful than wise, and that it is needful, indeed, as the refuge of weakness and superstitious fear. Now

we believe that not only the implication, but the statement is altogether false. We believe it may be asserted, that if faith is important to the mass of the people, to the loftiest minds it is more than important, it is indispensable. And we repeat, that just in proportion as the mind rises towards this loftiness, just in proportion as it rejects all factitious modifications, and puts on the proper character of human nature, will it find religious faith to be indispensable.

There is, indeed, a kind of unbelief which does itself yield an artificial buoyancy and satisfaction ; but it is not the unbelief of calm, reasonable, thoughtful, feeling human nature. It is a scornful, contemptuous, sneering unbelief. It is not the true philosopher, it is not the true man, that so disbelieves ; but it is, if there ever were such a thing as demoniacal possession—it is a demon within the man, that sits mocking with insane laughter at the wreck it has made, or scowling with fiendish malignity over the desolation it has spread around it. Such a skeptic was Thomas Paine. But such was not Mr Hume. From that calm and clear, though mistaken mind, you hear the sighings of human nature over its doubts. ‘I am affrighted and confounded,’ says Mr Hume, ‘with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed by my philosophy. When I look abroad, I foresee on every side, dispute, contradiction, and distraction. When I turn my eyes inward, I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. Where am I, or what? From what causes do I derive existence, or to what condition do I return? I am confounded with these questions, and I begin to fancy myself in the most deplorable condition imaginable, environed in the deepest darkness.’

Yes, human nature must feel this, amidst the gloom and cheerlessness of skepticism. Why should Mr Hume strike out this passage from the later editions of his *Treatise on Human Nature*? It is honorable to him. We can conceive of a man’s being a sincere and honest unbeliever. We can conceive of his entertaining such false views of Christianity, as to be induced to reject it. We can conceive of many influences at work upon his mind, to expose him to this result. But we could not conceive of being ourselves unbelievers, without being the most sorrowful and disconsolate of human beings. We should say with Job, in his season of gloomy doubt, ‘Let the day perish wherein I was born ; let darkness and the shadow of death stain it ; as for that night let darkness seize upon it,

let it be solitary ; let no joyful voice come therein.' We might be wrong in this complaining, but we could not help it. The birthday of such an existence, would seem to us to deserve no joyful commemoration, if all the thoughts of the mind, if all the dear and cherished affections of the heart, if all the blessed aspirations and hopes of our nature were to perish in the grave. And whether they shall actually perish there or not, if we have no assurance given us, such as the scriptures contain, all, to our minds at least—all that rests upon the tomb must be darkness and the shadow of death !

The matter which we have now taken in hand, may not be altogether without practical interest, we have thought, to some who may read our pages. It is a day of inquiry, and of believing and disbelieving of course, to some extent of those terms, and it behoves thoughtful men to consider whether they are inquiring rightly and safely. And if the general reflections we have now offered, are just, this is a matter which is not to be settled in a moment. The qualities of a rational inquirer, and of a rational doubter, are no ordinary qualities. It is not hasty surmise, nor headlong impulse, nor ready wit, nor flippant illustration, still less, contempt and scorn, or confidence and presumption, that will do here. Let no man think himself qualified to disbelieve, or to doubt, without a fervent and affectionate piety, without much reflection and sober thinking, and especially without understanding that nature in himself, on whose fate he is deciding. It is serious work which such a man has to do ; it is a serious question which he lays before him. It is serious, it is momentous even to the interests of this life. For a prevailing skepticism, not to say about the existence of God, but about a providence, about the wisdom and goodness of the power that deals with us, about moral obligation, about retribution, and the promise of future happiness to the virtuous and good,—a prevailing skepticism, we say, about these things, would be as certainly fatal to the morals and peace of society, as the silent and unseen coming of the pestilence to the health and happiness of our families.

We hold our pen a moment longer, to lay this solemn question, as we think it ought to be laid, before any one who may feel in himself an inclination to skepticism. And the point we wish him to consider is this ; 'Are you qualified to doubt?' The ordinary spirit that has prevailed in the school of unbelief,

we are perfectly certain, has amounted to a total disqualification. Not the self-sufficient, the scornful, the voluptuous, the light minded and slightly informed, are the fit judges in a case like this. We reiterate the question, 'Are you qualified to doubt?' The greatest and wisest men, men of the brightest genius, of the most extensive learning and of the most profound, calm, and retired study, who have investigated the subject as no infidel ever did, since they were examining the very foundations of their hope—such men have lived and died in this faith. If they had taken it on trust, the case would have been totally different. As it is, we think that they must be no common men who are entitled to deny a faith thus sanctioned. We put the question plainly, then, 'Are you an ignorant man?—Are you a worldly man?—Are you a man cherishing and gratifying the secret love of indulgence?—Are you a man averse to religion and prayer? If you are any of these, you are not qualified to disbelieve. For how shall ignorance judge of wisdom, or worldliness of a spiritual religion, or vicious indulgence of immaculate purity, or an irreligious mind of the great, the peculiar, the all-interpreting manifestation of God!'

ART. VI.—*A Dissertation on Intemperance, to which was awarded the Premium offered by the Massachusetts Medical Society, in June, 1827.* By WILLIAM SWEETSER, M. D. Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the University of Vermont. Boston. Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1829. 8vo. pp. 98.

THE physicians of the United States deserve to receive the highest thanks of their countrymen for the decided manner in which they have expressed their opinion upon the subject of intemperance, and the use of ardent spirits. They have both individually and in their medical societies, taken numerous opportunities of publicly denouncing, not only the abuse, but even the moderate use of stimulating drinks. So far as personal influence can extend, nothing could be more salutary than the measures which they have pursued, since every one feels, that, as the guardians of the health of their fellow beings, they have abundant opportunity to observe the effects of ardent spirits up-

on the human constitution, and are alone possessed of the requisite knowledge properly to direct, and draw the correct inferences from, their observations.

In the year 1827, at its annual meeting, the Medical Society of Massachusetts offered a premium for the best dissertation on Intemperance. In 1828 the premium was not awarded, but in 1829 it was obtained by Dr Sweetser, Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the University of Vermont, at Burlington, and an eminent practitioner in that place. This dissertation, which seems to have well merited the preference given to it by the Society, enters very fully into the physiological and pathological history of Intemperance, and describes, in a full and perspicuous manner, the effects which the use of ardent spirits gradually has in vitiating the actions of the several organs, impairing their structure, and finally inducing grave and incurable diseases.

We do not, however, notice the work for the purpose of giving any account of it, but merely for the purpose of recommending it to the public, as adapted to do good to the cause in which all are now so much engaged, and which seems to be going on under the happiest auspices. The perusal of it is calculated to impress, very strongly, that most important of all doctrines on this subject, that the *moderate use* of ardent spirits is at the bottom of the mischief; that the *moderate use* is pernicious; that the *moderate use* is totally and unreservedly unnecessary. This is the burden which should be rung in the ears of every man, woman, and child in the twentyfour States, till it is as familiar in their ears as household words; till parents know it for a proverb, and children for a byword. It is one of the truths of the same kind, and to be as undeniably proved, as that cleanliness is better than filth, pure air than foul, warmth than cold, for the preservation of life and health; and which yet, like these same axioms in times not very remote, has been forgotten or unperceived by the vast majority of mankind, though the evidences for it have ever been present in their view. It is true that the dissertation before us is not adapted for the perusal of all or most of those who require to have this truth enforced upon them; but it is adapted for those, who, by their superior information and intelligence, lead the opinions of the society in which they move. It will afford to such persons the facts and illustrations by which they may be enabled to enforce the known truths in regard to the use of ardent spirits, upon those with whom

they are conversant, and who have not the means of access to it themselves. It would enable them to give grounds and reasons for the opinions they express, and the advice they give. It is from this consideration, that we think it might be well worth while for Societies engaged avowedly in the business of reformation, to take some pains to recommend and distribute this pamphlet.

A. B. C.

- ART. VII.—1. *Pietas Londinensis; or the History, Design, and Present State of the various Public Charities, in or near London.* By A. HIGHMORE, Esq. London. 1810. 8vo. pp. 984.
2. *Philanthropia Metropolitana; or an Account of Public Charities in London, established since 1810.* By the late A. HIGHMORE, Esq. London. 1822. 8vo.
3. *A General, Medical, and Statistical History of the Present Condition of Public Charity in France; comprising a detailed Account of all Establishments destined for the Sick, the Aged, and the Infirm, for Children, and for Lunatics; with a View of the Extent of Pauperism and Mendicity, and the Means now adopted for their Relief and Repression.* By DAVID JOHNSTON, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, &c. &c. Edinburgh and London. 1829. 8vo. pp. 606.

THE subject of poverty, its sources, evils, and remedies, is exciting much attention at the present day. With respect, particularly, to the legal and established modes of relief, it is, like many other subjects of national or general interest, undergoing a strict investigation. In England, where, notwithstanding the large provision, public and private, legal and voluntary, for their relief, the poor have multiplied, till, by the proportion they bear to the whole population, they have become a formidable class of the community, and the burden of supporting them almost intolerable,—in England, it is not surprising it should be viewed with an anxious and almost trembling interest. The periodicals and daily journals groan with complaints of the enormous evil. It has afforded abundant matter for speculation; and statesmen in their cabinets, and philanthropists in their studies, have busied themselves in framing laws, or forming ingenious

theories upon the subject, proposing either the extirpation or decrease of the evil. In the mean time, paupers themselves are fearfully increasing; and impotent and defenceless as they would seem individually, they threaten by their numbers to be the scourge of the land.

For ourselves, as we have had occasion in a preceding number to remark, we have little confidence in sanguine schemes of reform, or in those pleasant plans invented by some ardent well wishers of mankind, for the extirpation of poverty and crime. 'The poor ye shall always have with you'—is not only the declaration of him who came to relieve them, but is a part of the established constitution of the world. It is the positive ordinance of God, the will and pleasure of the great moral Governor, that the poor shall never cease from the land; that in every community of men there shall be those, who, by their wants or their sorrows, their perplexities or straits, shall engage the sympathies and call forth the charities of their more favored fellow creatures, so that whensoever we will we may do good. We consider poverty, therefore, as one of the inevitable conditions of humanity, which it is not the design of Providence, and therefore not within the province, if it be even within the power of man, to remove; but which human wisdom and benevolence, prudent legislation and private charity, and above all, as combining and directing all these, the blessed influences of Christianity, may effectually relieve.

That mendicity, or, more properly, the state of poverty, can never be abolished, so that in any considerable collection of mankind, there shall be no poor, is evident from the slightest consideration of the causes that produce and continue it. Indeed, for this, as well as for most of the varieties of men's condition, there are causes continually at work in the social, civil, and moral constitution of things. The original diversities in the tempers, dispositions, faculties of men; their aptitude, or the contrary, to improve the opportunities with which they may be furnished; the inevitable changes of human life, wholly independent of man's control, by which, agreeably to the appointment of God himself, there is a perpetual alternation of prosperity and adversity, not only to the members of the same community, but to the same individuals and families; these, with innumerable other causes, local or temporary,—such as war and peace, or the unexpected change from either, a single year of famine or scarcity, a revolution, like that of France,

impoverishing the rich and totally changing the state and prospects of families for generations,—will never fail of maintaining the due measure of poverty in the earth. And even if, by some marvellous changes, all mankind were made as equal in their possessions or means, as they are imagined once to have been in their rights, this Utopian equality would last scarcely a day. The lazy and the wicked, and not they alone, but the shiftless, the extravagant, and improvident, would soon fall back into dependence; and shortly would there be the same necessity for poor laws and alms-houses, as is now the fruitful burden of complaint and system-building to lawgivers and philanthropists.

The provision made for the poor, in the earliest periods of the Jewish history, is a sufficient proof, that under no constitution of government, even among a people, like the Israelites, under the special guidance of the Almighty, is there to be expected an exemption from poverty or its attendant evils. Some of these provisions are no less beautiful than wise. They express a most considerate regard for the feelings and claims of those who have 'waxen poor.' What, for example, can exceed the tenderness and delicacy, with which the dwelling of the poor debtor is guarded from intrusion? 'When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.*' God himself was pleased to become the guardian of the poor man's hovel. Insolence or rapacity was not permitted to enter, and even charity itself must not intrude abruptly or unbidden. There might possibly be there some 'little monument of better days,'† some cherished relic of friendship, which no money could purchase, and which, not even for the relief of urgent want, could be resigned. At least, it might aggravate the suffering of the poor inmates to be compelled to expose to the eye of the stranger, or even of the neighbour whose aid was implored, all the humbling circumstances of their condition. Therefore, it is added, '*Thou shalt stand abroad*; and the man to whom thou dost lend, shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.' Other commands, inculcating the same humanity and considerate regard, more especially towards the widow and the fatherless, might be cited from the 'poor laws' of Judea.

* Deut. xxiv. 10-12.

† See Graves on the Pentateuch.

The means, which have been devised at different periods and under different religious institutions, for the relief of this great evil, have been, as might be expected, very various. Before the benign influences of Christianity were felt, the poor were but little regarded. The whole genius of Paganism, of every form indeed of idolatry, was unfriendly to benevolence. It was essentially cruel and hard hearted. The licentiousness which it either permitted or encouraged, had all its usual effect in destroying the kind sympathies of our nature, and the poor were left among the neglected and despised of the world. Nothing of the public charities, nothing of the system of relief, so common in christian countries, was known or even thought of before the appearance of our Saviour. He took the poor, if we may so speak, under his special protection. He offered to them an equal share in the blessings of his religion, and distinctly mentioned it, even in connexion with the miraculous testimony by which its truth was to be established, that his gospel was preached to the poor.

And who will deny, that Christianity, in its whole doctrine, spirit, and promises, is most graciously adapted to the wants and condition of the poor, or that charity, in its widest extent, is among its essential virtues? To what else but to its precepts and influence are to be ascribed, if not the kind sympathies, yet certainly the active benevolence, and the humane institutions, which are found everywhere in Christendom, and nowhere else? The instructions of Christ himself, the Acts of his apostles, and the early records of the Church; the appointment of deacons to act as guardians or overseers of the poor, and to provide especially that the indigent widows were not neglected in the ministrations of charity; the frequent mention of contributions in the Epistles; and the collections sometimes made through whole ecclesiastical districts, or communities of churches, as that of Achaia, or Galatia, for the relief of distant and needy brethren,—all attest the strong interest which was taken in the condition of the poor, and the high importance that was attached to this evangelic grace of charity. For a long period, also, perhaps for the space of two or three centuries, while the disciples retained in any good degree their primitive simplicity, their poor appear to have been relieved by individual benevolence, or by the stated contributions of their churches.

Afterwards, when the church of Rome had obtained the ascendant, and its peculiar institutions, with its wealth and re-

sources, were multiplied, partly to escape the odium of exorbitant or accumulating possessions, and partly, as it would be unreasonable to doubt, from a genuine benevolence, the poor were chiefly supplied at the gates of the convent or the monastery. And it must be conceded, that in these institutions, unnatural and corrupting as they were, there was, and even to the present day there remains, much of the spirit and of the good influences of christian charity. But that they were mischievous, on the whole, by *creating and aggravating the very evil they proposed to relieve* ; that in the dependence they permitted and encouraged, upon their daily supplies, they encouraged also habits of idleness, with other vices most destructive of the morals and prosperity of a people, their whole history abundantly shows.

And here we must introduce to our readers the last and more recent of the works, the titles of which we have set at the head of this article, and to which we shall principally be indebted for the facts and details, which it is now our purpose to exhibit. This work, by Dr Johnston, recently published in Edinburgh, seems to us highly interesting and important. The writer proposes 'a general, medical, and statistical history of the present condition of public charity in France.' But in doing this, he has gone far back to the past ; and though we have reason to complain of some defects in his arrangement, which leave his readers to no little trouble in uniting what he has scattered upon the same subject in different parts of his volume, yet when his statements are fairly set together, they present a full, and, we are ready to believe, a faithful view of both the ancient and the present state of charitable institutions in France. Nor is it the least important part of this work, that it enables the reader to form for himself, by the great variety of data afforded him, a fair comparison of the charities of France and England, or rather of Paris and London, an ample account of the latter of which will be found in the volumes of the late Mr Highmore, also before us.

In adverting to the ill effects of multiplying charitable institutions, in which he includes more particularly the monkish and the hospital charities, Dr Johnston remarks ;—

'Effects of the worst kind are to be apprehended from an indiscriminate system of charity,—a system which makes it the right of every man to demand the relief, which, in general,

his own exertions ought to procure him. What the monkish institutions were in former days, an over-extension of establishments of public charity, and a morbid degree of charitable feeling among private individuals, will become in the present time. The effects of both will essentially be the same; and while the spirit that leads to the formation of too wide a system of charity is to be lauded, the consequences that arise from it cannot be too strongly deprecated. It may justly be said, with the illustrious author of the *Spirit of the Laws*,—"Malheur, malheur au pays qui a beaucoup d'hôpitaux!"—although, at the same time, in all respects, his opinions upon the subject of hospitals are not such as to claim the assent of the world in general.

'Upon inquiring into the state of hospitals and hospital-establishments during the earlier periods of history, it will be found, that their existence has become necessary very much in proportion to the progress of civilization. This may at first sight appear a direct contradiction to the opinions advanced in the preceding pages; but a little consideration will make it evident that it is not so. These opinions are only opposed to the evil of carrying too far a system, which, to a certain extent, is not only allowable and useful, but absolutely necessary to the present state of society. In the history of Greece and of Rome, little traces can be observed of any establishments resembling the hospitals of the present day; but this apparent deficiency in the institutions of people whose undertakings were so great and so brilliant, is easily accounted for. The adoption of slaves, and their connexion with private families, rendered the establishment of public charities almost unnecessary; for slaves, who might be supposed to come in place of the poorer classes of the community from which hospitals are filled, were so situated as never to be in want, their masters being called upon not merely to furnish the means of existence for them, but to comfort them in disease, and provide for them in old age. As slavery disappeared, the real condition of man was bettered; but for the same reason, public charity became more necessary as emancipation had absolved the rich from their former obligations, and the public was compelled now to do what individuals till then had done.' pp. 155, 156.

Of the evils resulting from multiplying and proclaiming institutions for relief, the history of the monastic charities in England, furnishes an exact illustration.

'When,' observes our author, 'Henry VIII. of England denied the supremacy of the Pope, and declared himself the visible head of the Anglican church, he destroyed the numerous abbeys, hos-

pitals, and houses of refuge, that existed everywhere throughout England, and in which so many persons were fed, lodged, and treated, when under the influence of malady. By this destruction, he laid the foundation of the future prosperity of his country. The resources of the nation, which were till then unattended to, and perhaps unknown, were thus forcibly called forth, and the inferior classes of society, no longer able to find the open and ready charity they had been accustomed to, found energies within them which till that time had lain dormant.

‘In opposition to this example, he quotes the hospital-system of Italy, in which, to use his own words,—“*Les hôpitaux mettent tout le monde à son aise, excepté ceux qui ont de l’industrie, qui cultivent les arts et les terres, et qui font le commerce.*”’ pp. 153, 154.

In a note, having remarked, that in Rome the charitable foundations are capable of containing five thousand paupers, that charity is open handed, and physicians are paid to attend to the poor sick at their homes, he adds ;—

‘Yet, with all this, beggary is everywhere prevalent, and in every quarter of the city strangers are besieged by crowds of idle beggars, which would lead him to believe that nothing at all is done for them.’ p. 155.

The immediate effect, however, of the dissolution of the monasteries, was injurious. For a time, it was followed by a great increase of poverty. The poor, being suddenly deprived of the relief to which they had been accustomed at the gates of the convents, and not yet taught to rely on their own resources ; the people, also, being as yet unused to the bestowment of voluntary contributions, hitherto made wholly unnecessary by the abundant charities of the monasteries, there was, as might have been anticipated, an interval of great suffering. Indeed, it could not have been otherwise, for, as Dr Johnston states ;—

‘The number of paupers was not diminished, while the funds, which had hitherto supported them, were all usurped by the king, and distributed among his favorites, to lay the foundation of the immense private possessions of the present day. How considerable these funds were, and how many poor their alienation must have thrown upon the community, may be judged of from the fact, that the revenue of the religious institutions abolished by Henry, amounted to £273,000 of that period, equal to about £5,000,000 of present money.’ p. 497.

There can be no question, that while on the one hand, the bestowment of so much charity was fruitful of mischief, the sud-

den withholding or diverting of it to other channels, must have produced dreadful misery. It was to remedy these evils, that taxes were first levied upon the people for the maintenance of the poor, and hence those poor laws, which, with successive changes and additions, have now become so burdensome. To some of our readers the following brief history of the origin and progress of the poor rates in England, as given by this exact writer, may not be familiar. It appears, that it was first ordered by Edward VI. in 1552, that;—

‘On a certain Sunday each year, the collector of the parish should fix the sum he might deem each person capable of paying the ensuing year for the support of the poor; and if, after two summonses, that was not paid, the person was to be taken before the bishop of the diocese, who was to exert his influence in inducing him to do it. By a statute of Elizabeth, any person refusing to pay his contribution was to be taken before the justices of peace, and, upon farther refusal, to be imprisoned. Finally, in 1572 and 1592, the contribution took the character it at present bears; since which time it has gone on gradually increasing.

‘In the year 1680, the poor’s tax of England amounted to £665,370; in 1764 to £1,200,000; in 1773 to £3,000,000; in 1822 to £6,358,702. Had a similar tax to a similar amount been levied in France, and gone on increasing in a like progression, its ruinous consequences may be easily conceived. The population of France is now about 32 millions, and a tax proportional to that of England would have amounted to about 450 millions of francs, or not far short of half the annual revenue of the kingdom.’ p. 498.

It will be perceived, that Dr Johnston extends his statements only to the year 1822. The amount of these poor rates, enormous and almost incredible as it would seem, has, as we learn from authentic sources, been still increasing, and it may reasonably be inferred, that with the seven last years of more than usual commercial and manufacturing depression, by which the laboring classes in England, as well as elsewhere, have so largely suffered, the poor tax, if in 1822 so near to it, can now scarcely fall short of eight millions sterling, or *about thirty-five millions of dollars annually.*

Were it not for official and unquestionable testimony, it could scarcely be credited, that a sum so enormous should be levied upon any people for such, or indeed any single purpose. Except in the annual expenses of the English ecclesiastical establishment, it has, we believe, no parallel.

With such an example before them, we surely cannot be surprised, that the French government, when at the time of the Revolution reforming their code of public charity, should have anxiously endeavoured to *avoid the least resemblance to the English system of poor laws*. They had its dangers in full view, and wisely resolved to guard against them. Indeed, in this, as in some other of their national institutions, they have undeniably the advantage of their British neighbours. The government, —by which, though he immediately refers to the Directory of the Revolution, yet as his work is published within the present year, we understand our author to intend equally the reigning monarchy,—the government took the asylums and hospitals of the whole kingdom at once under their own direction; and, in prescribing for them a uniform system, and subjecting them to an exactness of inspection, resembling the minute *surveillance* of the whole French police, prevented many of the abuses which so easily creep into public charities, and secured a more wise and faithful management of them. In the twelfth chapter of his valuable history, Dr Johnston has exhibited a minute account of the system at present adopted for the maintenance of the poor throughout France. The whole survey is far too extended for our limits, and its various parts are also too closely connected to admit easily of separation. We shall therefore endeavour to exhibit to our readers only some of the more prominent features, or of the most important results of the system; and this, as far as we can, in the words of our very intelligent author.

‘By the law of the 7th Frimaire, an. 5, (27th November, 1796), there were instituted in each canton of the republic, one or more *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*. These Bureaux were charged with the distribution of the *Secours à Domicile*; they were to receive legacies and donations made in favor of the poor; and, in fine, were to take charge of all matters connected with the public administration of charity.’ p. 517.

Having given a distinct view of the present territorial divisions of the kingdom, as necessary to understand the nature of these institutions, or, as they are termed, *Charity Bureaux*; having stated, that the law has established them in every part of the kingdom, and detailed the manner, in which the two great commissions for administering hospices and the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* are formed and made responsible for all their acts

and expenditures to the government,—Dr Johnston informs us that ;—

‘ Besides these there is a third species of council connected with the public distribution of relief to the poor, termed Council of Charity, which holds a sort of surveillance over the other two. These councils exist wherever the establishments of charity are of sufficient importance to render them necessary. Their *ex officio* members are archbishops, bishops, first presidents, and procureurs-généraux of Royal Courts, or, in their place, presidents and procureurs of Tribunaux de Première Instance, presidents of tribunaux of commerce, rectors of academies, senior curés, presidents of consistories, vice presidents of chambers of commerce, and senior justices of the peace. The ordinary members are to the number of five in communes having fewer than 5000 inhabitants ; 10 in those having more. They are nominated and changed in the same manner as the members of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance. The councils of charity sit twice a year, in conjunction with the hospital commissions and charity bureaux, when the different matters connected with the administration of the poor are taken under consideration, and plans of improvement proposed.

‘ The principal duty of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance is to distribute what the French term *Secours à Domicile*, that is to say, to give assistance, as far as possible, whether in health or sickness, to the poor at their own homes. This may with justice be said to form the most interesting branch of public charity ; it ought to form the basis or groundwork of the whole system, and hospitals and hospices should be but a supplement to it.* They are necessary to but a limited portion of the poor community, and to that portion only when in a state of disease and absolute want, without relations, without friends, and without any personal means of subsistence. To the great mass of the poor, the *Secours à Domicile*, if properly administered, will in every way apply. It is more satisfactory to the feelings of a poor man to be succoured in his own house, there to receive the care and attention of his wife, children, or parents, than to find himself in a state of isolation in a hospital or poor’s house, among individuals attach-

* ‘ Les Bureaux de Bienfaisance, étant les auxiliaires nés des hospices, peuvent éviter à ces établissemens une grande dépense, au moyen d’une sage distribution de secours à domicile. En effet il n’est point de père de famille qui ne s’estime heureux, lorsqu’il est atteint de maladie, de pouvoir rester près de sa femme et ses enfans ; et pour cela il suffit d’alléger une partie de sa dépense par des distributions de médicamens et d’alimens à domicile. En conséquence, on ne peut mieux entendre la charité qu’en multipliant les secours à domicile, et en leur donnant la meilleure direction possible.—*Instruction de M. le Conseiller d’Etat chargé de l’Administration Générale des Hospices, &c. près le Ministère de l’Intérieur.*’

ed to him by no tie of kindred or friendship. Public morality cannot but be a gainer in a system which tends to strengthen the bonds of family affection, and to aid children and relatives in fulfilling the duties imposed on them by nature. The report made to the General Hospital Council of the capital, which contains many sentiments similar to those just used, observes, that the *Secours à Domicile*, as at present administered, were an object of desire long before the circumstances of the times allowed of their establishment.' pp. 522-524.

At the same time, it is admitted, as indeed the smallest experience might anticipate concerning even the best systems of beneficence, that the practical results do not always correspond with what might be expected from the wisdom of the plan. And we are happy in quoting also the judicious reflections with which this admission is connected.

'In France, if a system does work well, it is in the capital that its perfection is to be found. It too frequently happens that elsewhere a laxity prevails in putting the good intentions of the law into effect. It must be allowed, that in no country of the world are such good regulations to be found as in France. Every city, every town, every village, has its laws, decrees, and regulations, which in the statute book appear perfect and worthy of all praise. Inquiry, however, will often show a lamentable deficiency in their execution; and to this fact is owing the difficulty frequently experienced in ascertaining the exact state of France in many points connected with its internal administration. The precision of its laws, and the imperfect manner often in which they are put into effect, tend to bewilder and confuse the observer, and to warp his judgment. On the one side, by an admiration of these laws, he is induced to overrate the advantages of the country; while on the other, by remarking how imperfectly they are at times executed, he may be induced to give a more unfavorable account of it than it deserves. It is a common remark among Frenchmen, (for the most enlightened of them are not unaware of this imperfection,) that in England the laws are bad, but are well kept, while in France they are excellent, but ill kept. In the laws which concern the poor, as well as in others, the faults just mentioned are perceptible; but it must be allowed, that of late years improvement in this respect, if it has not been universal, has still been gradually extending over the country. In the capital the institution of *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* has been of the greatest service, and the successive improvements made since their first establishment, in 1801, have brought them to a high state of perfection.' pp. 524, 525.

Again, on the subject of the visiting and inspection of the poor, we learn that this is entrusted to persons appointed by the *Bureaux* under the title of Visitors. Having remarked on the great importance of this duty, as the only means of ascertaining the just amount of the distribution to be made, the author adds;—

‘The Roman Catholic church, in allowing too great merit to the giver of alms, has done much mischief to the community. The givers of charity, content with having given, cared little or nothing to what manner of persons they gave it. The act was, in their estimation, not the less praiseworthy, because the charity bestowed was ill applied and abused. But reserve, and even severity, are absolutely necessary in the administration of poor’s funds, from a principle of common justice; for if all the poor cannot be equally relieved, they at least ought to be so in proportion to their distresses and their wants. The appearance of misery, then, must not be the guide; the poor must be examined as to their age, infirmities, families, causes of misery, resources they have or once had, the cause of the loss of these resources, their moral conduct, the care they have taken of their children, and various other points. It must also be ever observed as a maxim, that it is not sufficient to grant assistance; it is also necessary to inquire diligently how that assistance is employed, and if the use made of it has been proper.

‘The assistance given to the poor is of three kinds, annual, temporary, and extraordinary; and it is necessary that this division should be rigorously defined and adhered to. Let the funds be ever so flourishing, it is impossible, and to a certain degree it would be improper, to administer to the total wants of those for whom they are destined; they must only be partially assisted. To extend the assistance indiscriminately to all, without inquiring how far that assistance is necessary, and demands to be continued, is to destroy the power of relieving such as, from real misfortune, claim a full and constant assistance. Each Bureau, then, is required to keep a register of its poor, divided in the manner mentioned. The indigents admitted to annual relief are, the blind, the paralytic, the cancerous and infirm, persons aged above 65, heads of families with at least three children below 12 years of age. In the partition of assistance these are divided into four classes, according to the extent of their privations or wants. The first class comprehends the blind and those above 80 years of age; the 2d, Persons from 75 to 80 years of age, and those afflicted with severe infirmity; 3d, Aged and infirm persons below 75 years of age; 4th, Fathers with young families.

The number of individuals to be admitted into each of these classes is determined by the General Hospital Council, on the proposition of the Bureaux of Charity. This number is on no account to be exceeded. At the same time an allotted sum is voted, and the division enables this to be done with more ease and precision, the cost of each class being determined beforehand. The annual assistance thus given by the Bureaux of Charity is in some respects analogous to that given in the hospices; the amount and extent of it is fixed, and if the numbers admitted to participate in their benefits are complete, others must wait their turn as they would do in a hospital, and, in the mean time, they may receive temporary assistance.' pp. 528-531.

Again;—

'The indigents admitted to temporary relief are those who, from malady, want of work, or similar causes, are reduced to a state of necessitous poverty. Extraordinary relief is given in extraordinary cases, such as fires, robbery, or accidental misfortunes. The Bureaux enjoy a latitude in the distribution of their assistance; they must, however, as far as that is possible, give it in kind (*en nature*). Great reserve is maintained in the distribution of money; and if that cannot altogether be avoided, it is, at least, practised as little as circumstances will allow. The annual relief given to persons totally unable to earn their subsistence, consists of bread, soup, meat, linen, clothes, firewood, and money, if it be accounted necessary or proper: all this to the value of a certain sum, which must not be exceeded. It requires considerable attention to distribute these articles proportionally to the wants of the different seasons; were they given once a year, there would exist no difficulty; but as it is, it is often a difficult matter, as their quantity is limited, to make the proper partition. All cases of assistance given to the poor in form of money are cases of exception; and on this head the system is excellent, and has been attended with much moral benefit. The caution with which such relief is given, keeps temptation out of the way of many whose principles are too feeble to be altogether beyond it, and, at the same time, it insures a proper subsistence to many, who, did they purchase the necessaries of life themselves, might be exposed to loss from ignorance or fraud.' pp. 531, 532.

We observe here another excellent regulation.

'To persons out of employment temporary assistance is given; but as much as possible work is made a condition of this assistance. Whenever an allowance is made to a pauper in this situation, it is not delivered to him directly, nor is money given him to purchase it. He receives an order upon some person employ-

ed by the administration, who gives the quantity of meat, bread, or whatever may be therein contained, and whose account is paid at regular intervals; the articles being charged at a rate agreed upon between him and the administration.' p. 534.

There is something particularly considerate and humane in the following royal ordinance of August, 1816.

' "It often happens, that, through ignorance, the poorer classes of the community neglect their own interest, or, deceived by bad advice, become exposed to the loss of any trifling patrimony they may possess, and which is perhaps almost their sole means of subsistence. To persons in such a situation it will be valuable to have it in their power to obtain gratuitously the advice of enlightened magistrates or lawyers." For this purpose, these legal advisers are attached to the Bureau of Charity; and so liberal is the administration, that, upon their recommendation, it will advance money to prosecute any question that may promise advantageous results to a family or individual unable otherwise to incur the expense of legal proceedings.' pp. 535, 536.

An objection might naturally arise to this system of national charity, that it must discourage or embarrass all private institutions. Upon this, as well as upon another subject immediately connected with it, the difficulties of which have been sensibly felt among ourselves—and we now refer to those arising from the multiplicity and interference, not to say rivalry, of voluntary institutions for the same general objects—Dr Johnston presents some useful suggestions from the Report annexed to the royal ordinance of 1816, in connexion with which he says;—

' It is particularly observed with respect to the various existing charitable institutions, that the wish is not to destroy or diminish them, but to augment and improve them, and refer all to one and the same general system, but without interfering in anything that is not contrary to the views of government. Whilst it strongly expresses the advantage of private associations making the bureaux of charity their rallying points, and concurring with the members of those offices as to the modes of multiplying and improving the means of assistance and relief, it, at the same time, confines itself to the expression of a wish on this subject.' p. 542.

And again;—

' One of the most interesting features of the public administration, and the other charities of Paris, is the entire agreement that prevails between them. A few instances will prove this harmo-

nious feeling. The Society of Maternal Charity, for giving assistance to mothers suckling their infants, is obliged to limit the amount of relief it affords; but those thus excluded are relieved at the different Bureaux of Charity, upon the recommendation of the society. In the same spirit, the Philanthropic Society, which distributes various necessaries of life to the poor, has apparatuses in its own bureau for making soups, of which it freely gives the use to such of the Bureaux of Charity as are not supplied with them.' pp. 543, 544.

In conclusion, to show the good results that may be anticipated throughout the kingdom from the universal adoption of this system; viz. that of the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*, our author extracts from M. Dupin, the following account of the mode of charitable administration in a single town. The details, though somewhat minute, cannot but be interesting to our readers, and may supply, at the same time, some useful suggestions to those whose official situations, or charitable dispositions may engage their attention to the subject.

'Niort is a small town,' not far, we believe, from Bourdeaux, 'of 15 or 16,000 inhabitants. Since 1802, not a single beggar has been seen in it, and this happy result has been obtained by the judicious zeal and attention of the administrators of charity. The Bureau de Bienfaisance divides the town into four sections, to each of which are attached a commissary, a baker, and an officier de santé. Two apothecaries and one butcher perform the service of the four sections. The bureau visits all the indigent families in the town; it ascertains the number of individuals composing them, their age, and their means of subsistence. It makes itself acquainted with the value of the labor of the head of each family, calculates how far that is sufficient to its maintenance, takes a note of the deficit, and makes it up to the standard it lays down. No healthy person in a state of idleness is assisted by the bureau; it says to the poor, "Work and you will gain your livelihood,—if you fail in procuring it, we will find it for you; but if you consume your time in idleness, your wages in debauchery, you will get no assistance; if you beg, you will be imprisoned." If a laborer is charged with the support of aged and infirm parents, or with young children, and cannot with the produce of his labor support them, the bureau comes to his aid; but only to make up the difference which it judges to exist between the resources and exigences of the family. *The relief given is moderate*; the bureau acts the part of a parent or guardian, who, by constant attention, forces the people to virtue by means of occupation. The indigents are divided into two classes, healthy

and infirm : the assistance given to the former consists of bread of second quality. During the most rigorous months of the winter, 5 centimes (equal to one halfpenny) are added to each kilogramme of bread. The sick are treated at their homes by the surgeons of the bureau, and are supplied with bread, meat, soup, and medicines.' pp. 554, 555.

Again ;—

' New born children are put to nurse at the expense of the administration, when the mother's health or occupation does not allow of her suckling her child. It also causes them to be vaccinated ; sends them to school, and afterwards apprentices them to some trade' consistent with their strength and constitution. It is not deemed sufficient to comfort existing misery ; pauperism must be extirpated from its root ; and to do this properly, the young race must be removed from the view of that laziness, the example of which would necessarily in the end lead them to ruin.' p. 556.

An important question here arises as to the expense of all this system, exact and judicious as it would seem. In answer to this, the writer tells us, ' it is but trifling.' And this he proves by a detailed statement of the whole expenses of the year 1812, when the price of provisions was high, and when distress and difficulty, in consequence, were unusually pressing. These details are somewhat too minute to be extracted, more especially as they are expressed in French measures and coins. But the result is thus summed up.

' The expense of each individual, therefore, treated at his home, was no more than 27 centimes, a little more than twopence halfpenny English, and in ordinary years would not have been more than 18 centimes,' or somewhat less than two pence sterling, per day. p. 558.

This allowance is not, indeed, for the whole support of an individual, which requires, as we learn from a credible source, nearly three times this sum. Still it may be taken as an evidence of the minute exactness and economy which pervade the whole system of public charities in France, and which, we doubt not, might with great advantage be adopted in some of our own institutions.

This entire control by the government over all the charities of the kingdom, whether by itself established or by individuals, and the reduction of the whole to one uniform system, is liable to one evil effect, viz. that of checking private be-

nevolence, and restraining those voluntary associations, so numerous and efficient in Great Britain and among ourselves. Yet this seems not to be the case to the extent that might be anticipated. For 'charity,' says our author, 'is not a rare virtue in France;' and he adds, 'that could a statement be procured of all that is given or bequeathed for the various interests of benevolence, the sum would appear enormous.'

It will be remembered in any view to be taken of this subject, *that there is no direct tax, or contribution for the support of the poor, in France.* This is exclusively the care of the government; and though the burden must ultimately rest upon the people, yet something is gained by a freedom from those direct and not seldom oppressive exactions, which tend to produce hostility both against the poor for whom they are imposed, and the government by whom they are levied. As, too, there is much less of dependence on the fluctuations of trade and manufactories than in England, the French are exempted also, from those extraordinary demands on their charity, so common in those seasons of commercial depression, by which the laboring classes in England are occasionally overtaken, and which impose for their relief almost intolerable burdens upon the other classes of the community. If, however, such seasons of distress should occur, the government, as Dr Johnston particularly relates of the year 1812, interpose, and by soup-establishments and other means wholly under their own direction, provide for the exigence.

It will be obvious, that there must be many advantages in such a system; more particularly, in the greater equality of the burden imposed upon the community; in the superior vigilance, economy, and fidelity, with which it is conducted—the government requiring from its agents frequent and exact returns of their management;—in the greater security it may ensure from the impositions to which all proclaimed charities are exposed, and, above all, in that which ought to be the effect, and is the best evidence of the benefit of relief,—the diminution of poverty itself.

We now ask our readers to turn with us from this view of the state of charity in France, to that in England, where we find, at once, the most various and opposite features. We have already adverted to the poor laws, imposing an annual tax, upon the kingdom of nearly eight millions sterling. And certainly it might be expected, that, with such a sum, no possible form of

poverty would remain unrelieved. Yet who does not know, or who has not heard, of its utter insufficiency? Enormous as it is, burdensome to the middling classes almost beyond endurance, hanging as a dead weight upon the government and upon the necks of the people, it still leaves an incalculable amount of want and wretchedness to tax private sympathy and to require the aid of voluntary associations. Nor is this the only evil. A habit of dependence, one of the bad effects of publicly proclaimed institutions, is encouraged; the poor become claimants, as by a legal right, of that relief which ought to be the fruit of their industry. By the facilities for obtaining it, they are tempted to idleness and improvidence. They lose, or they never acquire, a just self-respect. A sense of shame, and with it, also, the sentiment of gratitude, so essential to character, is almost obliterated, and, as this judicious writer remarks, and as the history of the English poor, beyond that of all others, evinces, 'they are in perpetual danger of passing from idleness and beggary into intemperance and irreclaimable profligacy.'

Nor, on the other hand, are the evils small to those who are compelled to contribute to this tax. By its pressure, united with other severe exactions, as in tithes for the church, and the various demands of government, not an inconsiderable proportion of those between the middling and the poorer classes, are almost driven into the ranks of dependence themselves. The consequence is, a great moral as well as political mischief. The good feelings and sympathies, which a reasonable provision for the poor might cherish, are lost in the impatience of an insupportable burden. What should be done with cheerfulness, as from a sentiment of benevolence, is yielded only to the stern demands of law. Disaffection to the government, with hatred and hard heartedness to the poor, are engendered; and among other effects, to say nothing of their riots at home, is the annual emigration of multitudes of British subjects, either to their own colonies, or to these United States, seeking refuge from exactions, and from a dread of poverty too, no longer tolerable.

From this view of the subject, which to an Englishman, we should suppose, could be no other than alarming, and to every philanthropist must be painful, we turn to the various charities of another class, private and public, national and individual, which have been established in that country for the relief of want, misfortune, and suffering of all kinds. It would be impossible, within our limits, to present even a catalogue of these.

But for this, and much more, we may refer our readers to the two works of Mr Highmore, before us. The former, under the significant title of *Pietas Londinensis*, is already well known; having been long before the public, and frequently cited as a faithful record. Under the distinct heads of hospitals, dispensaries, and medical charities, colleges,—under which are to be classed respectable asylums for aged widows and a better class of poor, as well as schools for the maintenance and education of youth,—alms-houses, and miscellaneous charities, we have a detailed history of the benevolent institutions in and near London. This single work occupies almost a thousand pages. Yet it includes only those institutions, which were in existence in 1810, the period of its publication, and the intelligent author, whose decease we regret to notice in the last public journals, followed it in 1822 with a second volume, almost as bulky as the former, embracing those which had to that time been established. This volume, with equal propriety called *Philanthropia Metropolitana*, has, as yet, scarcely found its way among us; but, taken with the former, it exhibits indeed a noble monument of British charity. The number of these humane establishments; their various objects and endowments; the venerable antiquity of some, reaching back through centuries; the curious history of others, and their adherence to original statutes and usages, notwithstanding all modern changes; the splendor, munificence, and imposing exhibitions of a few, and, as is not to be doubted, the real utility and salutary influence of more,—present together a truly interesting subject for contemplation. And could it only appear, for any considerable proportion of them, that the good proposed is actually accomplished; that not only suffering in individual cases is relieved, but the general mass of misery diminished; that idleness, profligacy, and beggary are gradually improved to industry, good morals, and comfort; and that, on the whole, the public order and virtue are advanced—the poorer raised from the dust, and the rich not only relieved of their burdens, but of their hatred of the very name of poor; then would these institutions be indeed what they have been called—the ‘glory of England,’ her best earthly defence from ruin.

But ‘alas!’ and we must here repeat the remark of Montesquieu, ‘alas! for that country, that has many hospitals.’ And the actual state of England at the present moment, is a full justification of the remark. For, notwithstanding all that is giv-

en, and all that is extorted for the poor, the profusion of her charities and her incredible taxes, the benevolence and self-devotion of individuals, and the wisdom, amidst all its exactions, of her government, it is hardly, we presume, to be questioned, that at this moment the mass of want and wretchedness is increasing. And though we are not unmindful of the fallacy to which such general conclusions are liable, yet looking only at the condition of the suffering classes in England, and contrasting it with this vast provision for their relief, we should be ready to infer that all publicly proclaimed charities, separate from moral influences, multiply and aggravate, and through the dependence they encourage, even create the poverty, which they are designed to relieve. The testimony of Dr Franklin upon the subject is altogether to this point. 'In my youth,' says that sagacious philosopher, 'I travelled much, and I observed in different countries, that the more public provisions were made for the poor, the less they provided for themselves, and, of course, became poorer; and, on the contrary, the less was done for them, the more they did for themselves, and became richer.'

Of the soundness of this testimony, which we believe all observation and experience will confirm, we have also a remarkable illustration in the history of one of the most ancient charities of France. Among the splendid acts of the reign of Louis XIV., as we are told by Dr Johnston in the work to which we have so frequently alluded, was the establishment of the 'Hospital General of Paris.' This institution was originally designed to receive all mendicants in that city, who had no means of gaining a livelihood. '*But no sooner was it put upon a proper footing, than Paris swarmed with beggars from all parts of the country.*' The poor of the provinces hastened up to the capital. Idleness forced many to this measure, want of work others; and at last, instead of the foundation of the Hospital General becoming a benefit, it proved an injury in many ways.' Various ordinances were proclaimed by the king, with a view to check the alarming evil. But, as the author expresses it, '*the more the means of relief were multiplied, the more the number of mendicants was increased.*' The intentions of Louis were not attended with any benefit, for a plain reason; his plans were proposed merely for providing relief for an evil already existing, without attempting to prevent that evil from arising. The attention of government was not called to a consideration

of the state of the poor from feelings of charity for their condition, but forced into it by the scandalous disorders and outrages that were committed, to the annoyance of the respectable part of the community. The establishment of Hospital General, therefore, like many other acts of Louis's administration, was better calculated to strike the imagination of the public and of the world, than to accomplish any real benefit to society.'

Now, what is asserted of France in 1675, is, we have reason to believe, a just description of the present state of charity in England, where, as the means of relief are multiplied, the number of claimants is increased. We do not include Ireland, because, in that devoted country, political, as well as other causes, are in continual operation to distress the people. And in Scotland, where there are no poor rates, and comparatively few great charitable endowments, as in England, there is also nothing like the extremity, or, as in the manufacturing districts, the desperateness, of its poverty. It might then be an interesting subject of inquiry, how far these facts and conclusions may be applied for any practical uses to our own country, and to the interests of charity among ourselves.

We do not profess to enter into this enquiry; for we find ourselves already exceeding the due limits of this article, and have had no sufficient opportunities of personal investigation or official experience, to authorise our confidence in the views we might propose. It must, however, occur to the most superficial observation, that any conclusions, drawn from the state of charitable institutions abroad, must be adopted, always, with full allowance for the difference in the extent and character of our population, the spirit and habits of our people, and, as yet, happily, the greater facilities, enjoyed for obtaining the means of subsistence. But as we have seen, that want in some form or other is perpetually created by the inevitable changes of life, it will at once be conceded, that a certain description of charities, as alms-houses for the aged and infirm, for the helpless and deserving, and dispensaries for the supply of medicines to the sick who can by no other means procure them, are absolutely necessary. With establishments of this class, no large community can dispense. Yet the least experience, even with these, will show, with what caution and vigilance, with what prudence as well as kindness, they should be conducted; while of others it will appear, that, though in a multitude of cases beneficial, the tendency to abuse must be watch-

ed with the most considerate and careful eye. Let as few publicly proclaimed institutions be established, as the absolute exigences of the community will admit. Let these be managed by benevolent and judicious individuals, who have no favorite theories to support, but are able to devote something of their time to personal investigation. We need for the direction of all our charities, men of sound judgment, firmness, and true benevolence, who are wise and experienced enough not to be imposed upon, and who, at the same time, will not suffer their official familiarity with distress to blunt their sympathies, or to betray them to unreasonable distrust. It is always to be regretted when the sacred cause of charity loses anything of its tenderness, or its considerateness, in the bustle of official duty, or that its ministrations should become less kind, and therefore less useful, because bestowed, on the one side as a matter of business, to be despatched with as little expense of time or feeling as possible, or because received, on the other, as a matter of right. There is nothing also, that so effectually defeats the very end of charity as successful imposition. Men will soon cease to bestow, when they find they have been deceived, and are too ready, after a short experience, to allow themselves in a universal distrust, and even a hatred against the poor, alike unjust and indiscriminate. To prevent this, it is desirable that the case of every claimant should be fully investigated, and that there should be a mutual intelligence or correspondence between charitable institutions—at least, between those which propose kindred objects, and therefore invite applications from the same classes and descriptions of the poor. This object might be accomplished by mutual and periodical returns of the names and families of those who receive their assistance, or by occasional conferences of the officers, or the almoners of these societies. Thus also might we prevent the imposition, unquestionably too successful, of obtaining the same kind of relief, at the same time, from different societies.

Especially do we wish to see our benevolent institutions delivered from the blight and mildew of vanity, and from being abused as the instruments of personal distinction. Next to absolute hypocrisy, or ostentation and trick in devotion, there is nothing more revolting than vanity and exhibition in the management of charities. We turn from them with utter loathing; and, though, as we well know, a public institution must be conducted in some measure before the public; yet

even here let the spirit of our Lord's injunction be observed, and as far as individual fame is concerned, let not the left hand know what the right hand doeth. We have been sickened at the sight of silly men and women, parading their subscriptions or their schemes of philanthropy, and making the real or supposed distresses of their fellow-creatures, the ministers to their absurd and contemptible vanity.

Upon this subject, as well as a passion for magnificent plans of charity, a folly not seldom found in close connexion with it, we adduce the remarks of a judicious observer.

'Men are too fond of doing things on a large scale, in a body. At the commencement of a society, too often more is attempted than can be accomplished. It is rare, that the vanity of parade and show can be kept under. In proportion to its reputation, it gives distinction to its associates; and men seek to become its associates for the sake of this distinction. Hence a seat has become a sinecure of honor; and the soul and spirit, which centered in a few, becomes clogged and shackled with the paraphernalia of dress. Yet to all societies nothing is more important, than the preservation of that soul and spirit, which first brought them into action.'

It was our purpose to have observed on the importance of connecting with the ministrations of charity for the relief of outward necessities, judicious moral and religious instruction. We are aware, considering the great diversities in religious opinion and feeling, in the characters moreover and capacities of those who are called to dispense relief, either as municipal, or other officers, that this may be attended with serious practical difficulties. In unskilful hands, and when under the direction of a blind or misguided zeal, tempting to officious and impertinent intrusion upon the sacredness and modesty of domestic life, it becomes no less than an odious and intolerable nuisance. And we have heard of religious instruction connected with charity, under forms so revolting, that we could hardly wonder, if both the gift and the instruction had been alike rejected, and the officious teacher repulsed, as was once an intruder of old, with 'Thy money perish with thee.'

But to guard most effectually against the abuses, and to extend most widely, with the best moral and religious influences, the benefits of charity, we would recommend above all things else, the duty and practice of private benevolence. Let individuals, and let families feel more of their obligations to this

great christian duty. Let them search out for themselves, and, according to their means and opportunities, relieve, by their alms and their counsel, their friendly visits and effectual sympathies, those whom, on investigation and acquaintance, they find most needy or deserving. Could a sense of the importance of this duty be more extensively impressed, the work of benevolence would be better performed, and we might easily dispense with some of our corporations or public societies. And for the superior moral influence that might be thus exerted, both upon the receiver and the giver, we adopt again the words of the writer just quoted, whose past official situation and experience give weight to his suggestions.

‘No one can be ignorant,’ says he, * ‘with what different sensations public and private charity is received ; the one bestowed by the administrator of the police, the other by the voluntary will of the benevolent individual. Private charity is always moistened with the tear of gratitude. Public charity is often demanded as the appropriate proportion of the public fund.

‘Private charity carries with it some recognition of a providential interposition ; creates some disposition in the most vicious towards reformation ; or, at least, removes the murmur of being forgotten and outcast. Public charity has neither the warmth of personal interest, nor the attachment of obligation. Hence, the claimants of public charity often come forward with boldness to display their miseries and compel relief.’—‘Hence, too, great as are the benefits public charities confer, they encourage so many impositions, and generate such certain evils, that many doubt the utility of funds raised for supplying, generally, specific articles, even of the first necessity ;’ and such persons, as we may add, will absolutely deny to a public institution what they freely bestow in private benevolence.

ART. VIII.—*On the Future State of Man.* For the Christian Examiner.

THERE is no subject of human thought that calls so earnestly for the most strenuous exertion of our minds, and for the most ardent aspirations after light from on High, as the state of man after death and that judgment without appeal which shall

* Miscellaneous Remarks on the Police of Boston. 1814.

assign to each human being his place and standing in the world of spirits. It is true, that in this life nothing is certain except its end ; and every temporal interest, however great, must vanish in the prospect of eternity. The consideration of that inevitable event to which we are hastening, could not fail to excite in us the strongest desire to obtain the clearest possible conception of it, though we could do no more towards it than meet it as passive gainers or sufferers by the unalterable judgment of God. Who would refuse a grateful welcome to the most distant star that sheds a feeble ray upon the night of death ! But this natural desire after light on this great subject, becomes a sacred duty to those who believe that the final judgment is to be founded on our own conduct. As common prudence instructs us to guard against the destructive cold of the approaching winter, or to secure the rich profits of autumn by laying out our industry in spring, so the voice of heavenly prudence calls upon our souls and all that is within us, to prepare for the great harvest of life and of death, in the land of promise and of retribution beyond the grave.

The thought of the final account we shall have to render of all we have done or left undone in this life, should be deeply impressed on our minds on all occasions, and particularly when we think and speak of that solemn event itself. We should be careful not to leave any opportunity unimproved, but faithfully to exert all our faculties to obtain, in regard to our future condition, the most perfect views we are capable of conceiving. The prospect of the life and judgment to come, should make us anxious and importunate in the pursuit of truth, but fearless as to the result of our faithful inquiries.

The opinions of men concerning the future state are divided in various ways ; and it is easy to account for this fact. The life to come could not be conceived of in any other mode than as a continuation of the present. It was natural, therefore, that the various views of human life and happiness, should be transferred to the future state. Accordingly, while some men were looking forward to a world of perfect justice, wisdom, and love, others were led to anticipate a paradise of all their appetites and passions. This source of controversy concerning the future state, has been made more abundant by the vague use of language on all sides. Men did not understand each other, and complained of misconstruction of their views, because they did not understand or distinctly express themselves. Still more, the language of that record from which the most important views of man's immortality

were to be derived, ceased to be a living tongue before it became the object of a truly learned and sound interpretation. Yet such an interpretation was the only means whereby that part of its contents, which was calculated to remain the common property of all reflecting minds, could be freed from the idiom in style and thought, by which it was peculiarly suited to those to whom it was immediately addressed.

If these circumstances are calculated to multiply religious controversy on this subject, these differences themselves are perpetuated by the unwillingness of most men to search the scriptures and their own nature, for themselves. They would rather enlist in the service of one of the pretenders to infallibility in religious matters. Thus controversies are multiplied in number as they diminish in real importance, while men are differing, not so much about the teachings of nature and scripture, as about what some commentator of note has said, or is said to have said. Any objection raised against such standard creeds, is apt to be felt as an insult offered to all who wear, and think themselves bound to defend, the same religious uniform.

Under these circumstances it seems to be the fairest and safest mode of proceeding, first, to give a sketch of the most important views which have been and are entertained on the future state of man, without ascribing either of them to any individual or sect, and then simply to state the writer's own opinion.

All nations, civilized and savage, that we have any exact knowledge of, agree with us in the belief that the present life of man is not the whole, but only the beginning of his existence. The immortality of the soul, is, and has been at all times, a fundamental article of the general creed of mankind. Even before the daybreak of divine truth in the gospel of Christ, there were forereaching minds that read in the sunset of this earthly life, presages of a glorious resurrection of light, and who taught their fellow men to free themselves of the fear of death by extending their desire of life beyond it. But those who believe in a life to come, differ in many of their views of the future state. Their opinions disagree, first, in regard to the *condition* itself in which men may be placed after death; and secondly, concerning the *grounds* on which any particular condition will be actually assigned to an individual.

In the first place, the *condition* itself in which men may possibly be placed hereafter, differs according to the views of different sects, in its *kind*, *degree*, and *duration*.

If you ask some persons what *kind* of condition will be assigned to a human being after death, they will answer, that all men will be made happy, whatever be their conduct in this life ; while others are of opinion that only a portion of the human race will be blessed, while others will be made to suffer, or be annihilated.

If you inquire further about the *degree* of human happiness or unhappiness, some persons will tell you that there will be only one degree of joy for the blessed, and one degree of misery for those who are doomed to suffer ; that the former will be perfectly happy, and the latter completely miserable. Others, on the contrary, suppose that there will be various degrees of joy and of pain in the future, as well as in the present condition of man.

If you ask, in the third place, what will be the *duration* of the condition which may be assigned to any individual, many persons will answer, that, whatever condition, and whatever degree of happiness or unhappiness may be conferred upon an individual on his entering the future state, be it immediately after his death or after the final judgment, it will remain the same throughout eternity. Other persons, on the contrary, are persuaded that there will or may be changes in the condition of men even after the divine judgment. Among those whose belief admits of such changes, there are many who think that some men will be condemned to suffer for a time, or pass through a purgatory, before they are admitted to a state of unchangeable bliss. There is room for still another opinion ; namely, that in the future life, as well as in this, it will be in the power of each individual to change his condition for the worse or for the better, by his own conduct.

I have mentioned the principal differences in opinion with respect to the condition itself, in which men may possibly be placed after death ; and I now proceed to mention the most important views concerning the *grounds* on which either of those conditions will be actually assigned to each individual.

All believers in a future state agree in maintaining, that, whatever be the condition of an individual, it is conferred upon him by the law or judgment of God. But the principal difference consists in this, that some think God will bestow happiness or unhappiness on each person in proportion to his own good or ill desert, while others believe in a distribution of joy or suffering by the absolute decree of God, without any reference to the relative merit or demerit of the individual.

Those who suppose the future condition of men founded on the mere and unconditional will of God, either deny altogether the existence of a free will in man, all his actions and intentions being predestined with absolute necessity by God ; or they believe that the choice, the good or ill desert of the individual, has no influence upon the divine judgment.

On the other side, those who hold that the future state of man will depend on his own desert, generally suppose that his conduct in this life alone, will be the ground of his future condition ; while there is room also for believing, that, in the future state as well as in the present, the happiness or unhappiness of each human being will depend on his conduct, his own good or ill desert.

I have stated the principal views of the future condition of man, and of the grounds on which it is supposed to depend. With respect to all these different opinions, I am persuaded, that either of them, however erroneous in itself, may be embraced with a sincere conviction of its truth, and that he who thus receives it, is right in rejoicing against the day of judgment. On the other hand, I verily believe that no view, however true in itself, can lead to peace and happiness, unless it be adopted on free and full conviction. Seeing, then, that we have such hope, I shall use great plainness of speech. I would not be understood as attributing either of the views I shall have to examine, to any one denomination of Christians ; and still less as censuring the believer for what I suppose to be erroneous in his faith, sincerely convinced that human judgment is fallible, and that we shall be judged, not according to the talents we have received, nor according to the fruits they have yielded, but according to the faithful or unfaithful use we have made of the advantages we enjoy.

The views I intend to offer, I shall endeavour to prove by such observations of human nature as every person is able to make on himself, and by the simplest declarations of scripture ; so that whatever there may be of truth or error in the following remarks, may be easily perceived by all.

All believers in a life to come, Heathens as well as Christians, agree in this great principle, that the future state will be an ultimate exhibition and complete vindication of divine justice. From the earliest times, among all nations, we find doctrines, like those of the ancient Greeks and Romans of Orcus and Elysium and the three incorruptible judges in the world be-

low. There are many, I know, who would proudly reject these and all the early religious traditions of heathen nations relative to a future state of retributive justice, as mere fables. But he who delights in studying the gradual progress of the human mind in religious knowledge, will not be ashamed of the childish essays of his race. Nay, he will hail them as prophetic dreams that have shadowed forth what the gospel of Christ has brought to light, that 'the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.'*

I have said that all who look forward in faith to a life to come, agree that the future state will be a confirmation, or at least not a refutation of our trust in divine justice. All unite in professing and magnifying the perfect justice of God; but not all understand what they extol. Otherwise their views of the future condition of man could not be essentially opposed to each other. In asserting that God is just, we ascribe to him a quality which constitutes part of the moral character of man. What we consider essential to human excellence, we attribute in its perfection to the Author of our moral nature. Justice, human and divine, though different in degree, must be the same in kind. In what then does it consist? Some will say, justice consists in the strict and impartial execution of the laws. God, accordingly, is just, because he will faithfully judge each one according to the laws he has given and made known to all.—Now it is true that justice demands the execution of the laws; yet this alone is not justice, otherwise any law, however partial and absurd, would be justified by its strict and impartial application. How can we say that justice rules over a country or the whole universe, if the laws, however faithfully administered, are in themselves unjust? Would you indeed maintain, that it becomes a loyal subject of the Most High to profess that all things are just with him, because with him all things are possible? Those who attempt to magnify the omnipotence of God at the expense of his justice, those who dread to offend against the divine majesty by trusting in his righteousness rather than his partial mercy, blaspheme the God they thus ignorantly worship. Knowledge and power, if they be added to injustice, are no longer perfections of the moral character, but, on the contrary, aggravate its immorality. However

* John v. 28, 29.

powerful, however wise, however merciful you may think him, and however privileged and exalted above the rest of mankind you may suppose yourself to be by his special favor ; yet, if you consider God as a respecter of persons, as a generous but arbitrary disposer of his creatures and their destiny—you may indeed fear him, and look up to him with admiration, even with grateful affection, yet you cannot, whatever dreadful consequences you may ascribe to this mode of thinking, you cannot truly respect him. You cannot with a concordant heart join in the sublime ascription with which the inspired teacher of the one true God begins his immortal song ;—‘ He is the rock, his work is perfect ; for all his ways are judgment ; a God of truth and without iniquity ; just and right is he.’*

There is in the mind of man a standard of right and wrong, by which he is enabled and commissioned to try, not only the actions and decisions of men, whether they be conformed to established laws, but also these laws themselves, whether they be sanctioned by eternal justice. And not only human actions and decisions are to be judged by this inborn principle of justice, but He himself who has endowed us with this divine attribute, does not disdain, nay, invites us to judge of his own actions, so far as we can comprehend them, and says, ‘ O house of Israel, are not my ways equal?’†

It is from the simple and clear decisions of our moral sense, that we learn the true nature of justice, human and divine. Let us examine some of the plain decisions of reason and conscience. A father does justice to his children, if he educates them according to their natural capacities. Society is bound in justice to protect the natural rights of each of its members, to acknowledge and encourage every kind of merit, industry, talent, learning, and skill, and to discountenance every false pretence, and punish every crime. With regard to animals, we think it unjust to abuse instead of using them according to their nature and destination. Those in particular which we have deprived of their natural freedom for our own advantage, seem to have a claim on us for shelter, food, and protection. A refined sense of justice extends even to plants, pointing them out as objects of due care to him that raised them. Justice is due even to inanimate objects, to works of art, and literary productions, which require a just estimation of their nature and character. Justice, in the highest sense of

* Deut. xxxii. 4.

† Ezekiel viii. 29.

the word, ought to characterize our ideas of the Author of all animate and inanimate existence.

In all these instances, the true character of justice cannot be mistaken. He alone can be called just, who adapts his actions and sentiments to the nature and character of every being. When we say, therefore, that God is just, we mean that his intentions and actions are adapted to the nature and character of all his creatures. Man trusts in the justice of God, when he believes that God adapts the course of events to the nature he has given him. He believes that the faithful Creator will supply the necessary means to unfold all the faculties and tendencies he has implanted in human nature. This trust, therefore, implies the belief in a divine education, by which the human race, and each individual, is furthered and guided to the end for which he was created.

The importance of this doctrine of divine justice, with reference to the future state of man, is self-evident. If there be in human nature anything that can be considered as implying a divine promise of an existence after death ; if there be a germ of life which waits for the heavens' opening upon it that it may unfold in the sunshine of another world, we may rest assured that He who sowed the seed, will not withhold from it the light and the dew and a paradise to grow in forever. God is just. He does, and will do justice, therefore, to the immortal capacities he has given us.

Believing then, as we do, that the whole of man's existence is regulated by divine justice, we possess in the constitution of our own nature a revelation of the life to come. We are led to inquire what will be the future state of man, if justice be done to the nature and faculties he possesses ; and our faith in divine justice assures us, that the result of the present inquiry, if the inferences drawn are correct, will be confirmed by future reality. The eternal stars of his destiny, which are hidden from the sight of man by the broad glare of the ruling interests of the day, he descries when he descends into the depths of his own mind. And to ascertain the length and the breadth, the depths and the shallows of the soul, there is no guide so sure as the gospel of Christ, the recorded wisdom of him who knew all that was in man.

I have said, that in order to obtain correct views concerning the life to come, we must search our own being, since our belief in divine justice assures us, that the future state of man

will be in accordance with his present nature. This view of divine justice, therefore, confirms and aids our reasoning from *analogy*, which rests on the self-evident supposition that the future life of man will resemble the present, if the former be really a continuation of the latter. Even independent of our previous view of divine justice, reason would prompt us to examine the actual state of our being, in order to ascertain, from its nature, in what the future is likely to resemble the present. It is the same manner of reasoning which we apply to all other future events, with a degree of confidence proportioned to the time, the extent, and the accuracy of our observation of the previous state of things. Thus our knowledge of the capacities of the infant, enables us to form an idea of the possible and probable attainments of the man. The more his faculties unfold, so much the clearer is our preconception of his future stages of improvement. The longer and the more we know a person, so much the surer is our anticipation of his future conduct; though this preconception can never become certain foreknowledge. For the same reason, the idea we form of the future state of man from all the various stages he has to pass through in this life, is even more likely to be correct than the view we may form of the man from the character of the child. Still more, experience shows that general remarks concerning the faculties, wants, and propensities of mankind, derived from manifold experience and history, are more likely to be correct than our conception of the peculiar character of an individual. This circumstance cannot but strengthen our faith in the inferences we draw from the present to the future condition of man, since our object in view is not the future state of each or any individual in particular, but of men in general. Accordingly, in reasoning on the future state of man from analogy, we may safely and freely use all that history and experience teach us concerning his nature and character in various parts and ages of the world, without being exposed to mistakes arising from an imperfect knowledge of the peculiar nature and character of any individual.

The course of the present inquiry is pointed out by the previous remarks. It is not my intention here to adduce all the reasons we have for believing in man's immortality. My object is to obtain some just conceptions of the future state, from what by continued observation we know to be the nature of man, its essential properties, faculties, and tendencies, to which we trust justice will be done, by Him who implanted them in man.

I mention, first, the deepest and most powerful of all the

desires of man, his yearning after an endless continuation of his existence. Every being most intensely desires, not only that the human race, but that he himself, his existence as an individual, should never end. This desire does not imply a wish to preserve unchanged *all* the properties and appurtenances of our present being. On the contrary, the principle of change belongs to the actual constitution of man as much as that of stability. The innate longing of man after immortality, consists in the desire, that of the various endowments and attainments of the present life so much at least may be preserved from destruction, as to enable him still to recognise himself as essentially the same being. I mention attainments together with endowments as essential to the identity of our being, because it is evident that the man who has developed all the faculties with which he was endowed by nature, would no longer recognise himself as the same being, if in a future state merely the faculties themselves should be restored to him without the attainments he has made. What then are, I ask, those powers and properties of man, which we consider indispensable to the identity of his being?

It is manifest, in the first place, that the material part of our being, that is, all that may be perceived by the senses, our bodies and all that properly belongs to them, cannot be considered as essential to the individuality of man. The body consists of various parts and material elements, into which it is divided and resolved by death. Indeed, its various organs, faculties, and desires die away even before the close of our earthly life. And in the prime of physical health and strength we are conscious that our bodies are not ourselves, so that 'it is indeed more difficult to comprehend how the mind can exist in the body, than without it.' What man truly calls his own self, and the immortality of which he anticipates with the most intense desire, the direct object of his self-conscious reason, is a single and indivisible being. It is that principle within him, which thinks, feels, and wills, and is conscious of all its operations as various effects of the same permanent cause, which we call the human mind. Accordingly it is not the body, but the mind, in which we must seek an answer to the question, what powers and attainments of man are likely to survive the death of the body, and form the basis of his future state.

But though it is necessarily the nature of the human mind from which we must draw inferences concerning his future being, yet there is one view in which his body too furnishes coin-

cident information. Though the material parts, the members and organs be dissolved, yet the corporeal existence of man itself must be considered as an important starting point for the mind in its continual advancement. That he might be made acquainted, fully and intimately, with the material world, the mind of man, itself a living spirit, 'was made flesh;' that is, assumed a corporeal frame which enabled him to enter into the inmost nature of every order of beings in the material universe. Being himself made to exist in a body, he is able to comprehend, through his own experience, the coexistence of innumerable bodies. Man, moreover, was made to grow like the plant—to move, perceive, and feel like the animal, that he might assume and assimilate to himself every degree of perfection that exists, grows, and lives on this dark planet, before he ascends to brighter spheres of existence. For it seems to be a law of nature, that he who leaves his native land as a stranger to its own peculiar condition and interests, is not fit to be naturalized in any other part of the world.—In this point of view, then, the corporeal existence of man cannot be considered as a transitory state, which is to vanish at death. Although those material frames which we now possess, are to be destroyed by death, yet we know that those particles of matter of which the body at any time happens to consist, are not essential even to our corporeal existence. For our body is continually changing its materials; so that in a few years hence not one particle of that frame which we now call our body, will be the same, while we still preserve the identity of our corporeal existence.

The dissolution of the body by death, then, is not a sufficient reason for believing that even our corporeal existence is confined to the present life. On the contrary, analogy leads me to suppose, that the capacity to live and move, to have a being also in the material world, will not be destroyed, but perfected in another stage of our existence. The impressions we receive through our senses, such as light, sound, and resistance, will not, as some suppose, vanish as mere affections of our various organs, but be confirmed as perceptions of real qualities of material objects. This power of perception, as well as that of motion, will be increased. That each of these physical and organic powers of man, is capable of indefinite improvement, is evident from the fact that they exist even now in different degrees of perfection in men and animals. There are birds, and other animals, which surpass us in various powers of motion and sensation, as much as there are plants which excel us in growth; and inanimate

bodies, which possess a greater power of resistance and duration. From experience we know that all our senses, as well as other bodily powers, may be improved continually, particularly when they are made the instruments of the ever extending operations of the mind. In the service of the mind the bodily powers of man have sufficed to change the face of the earth, to make the sea an inexhaustible field of human enterprise and industry, to explore the heavens. Of each of these various objects of pursuit it can still be said, as a celebrated astronomer said of his own science, that it is the result of bad eyes with a great deal of curiosity. Is it reasonable to suppose that nature, which has given us this infinite thirst after knowledge, will not give us also vessels to draw with from the deep wells of creation, instruments more perfect than those with which human art supplies the weak eye and the feeble hand? But these contrivances of human art themselves, seem to point out the way in which nature will furnish us the means of accomplishing designs expressed in the constitution of our being. It is indeed highly probable, that we who stand here gazing at the portal of His temple, shall be admitted to the mysteries of the sanctuary when the sabbath of eternal life shall open the temple gate. But it is not likely, according to the universal law of gradual progression in nature, that the mind of man will be enabled to penetrate the inmost being of the material world without any material organs. I suppose, therefore, that we shall be born again with an organization similar to our present, and suited to the moral and intellectual state in which we leave this world; with a 'celestial body,' adapted to the future, as much as this terrestrial frame is to our present existence.

But whatever may be thought of the resurrection of the flesh, the restoration of man's physical organization, it is certain that the elements of man's immortality do not lie in his body, but in his mind. The doctrine of the future state, therefore, must be founded chiefly on the nature of the human mind, its essential faculties, and most important attainments. To this, then, let us now direct our inquiry.

When we contemplate the human mind, the tree of life which God has planted within us, we see three branches striving upward to heaven, the Intellect, the Affections, and the Moral Power of man. We all perceive that whatever change we may experience by death, if it should deprive us of our intellect, our affections, and our moral power, such a change would be equal to an annihilation of our being. Without in-

telligence the world would not exist to us, nor should we be conscious of our own existence; without affections, the brightest perceptions of our intellect would be images reflected in a dead mirror; and without the power of virtue, of moral exertion, man would rank with the brute, though possessed of the clearest views and the warmest affections. It is the tendency of these three powers after infinite expansion, which we have a right to consider as an earnest of our immortality. From the nature of these three immortal endowments of our being, I shall endeavour to draw inferences concerning the life to come.

I shall speak first of the Intellect of man, which may be defined as the power to form ideas. When we survey the immense variety of ideas which the mind is capable of conceiving, we observe one important difference in these productions of the intellect, which is characteristic of its nature, and essential to its progress. We perceive many things by our senses, which we call material objects; such as sounds and colors. Others we perceive without the instrumentality of our senses, by our intellect alone; such as thoughts, feelings, desires, and resolutions. Our conceptions of material,* as well as immaterial objects, agree in this respect, that they are accompanied with a belief that there are real objects corresponding to our ideas. Such ideas we call *perceptions*. But we form also ideas which are not accompanied with belief in their reality, which we term productions of the *imagination*. Of these conceptions of the imagination, there are some of which we know that there is no object corresponding to them; such as dreams and works of fiction. In regard to others we do not know whether and how far they are true or fictitious; such as the supposition that the stars are inhabited by living and rational beings. Besides these two essential faculties of the intellect, Perception and Imagination, we possess the power of comparing our ideas, whether real or fictitious, with each other, and judging of the relations they bear to one another. It is this third power of the intellect, which we call Reason, by which we perceive the connexion between cause and effect, all the differences and resemblances of things and ideas in quantity and quality, as well as their relative probability.

When we contemplate the dawn of intellectual life in the child, we find the various mental capacities and energies wrapped up, as it were, in one all-absorbing tendency, the innate

* Whenever the word *material* is used in this treatise, it means simply and exclusively all that we perceive by our five senses; which is indeed the only tenable definition of *matter*.

and ever active principle of curiosity. As the intellectual nature unfolds by healthy exercise, the three powers of perception, imagination, and reason, become prominent. The intellectual life of man consists in the vigorous and harmonious exercise of those three faculties, each of which is capable of infinite expansion. All that is, is an object of perception; all that can be, all that is possible or conceivable, is an object of imagination. The extension of knowledge and of fiction being an inexhaustible source of new ideas, there is consequently an infinite field laid out for the exercise of reason, in judging of the relations they bear to each other. The intellectual progress of man receives its first and ever increasing impulse from innate curiosity; while it is insured particularly by that mediatory and regulating power which reason exercises with respect to perception and imagination. Thus, before the fifteenth century, what we now call the old world, was the only object of knowledge to our European ancestors, while the continent on which we live, existed only in the imagination of a few minds exercising their reason to ascertain, from that part of the earth which they knew, the probability of the existence of one which at last became an object of knowledge through perception. And thus every great discovery in the world has its origin in the previous perception of certain objects which formed a starting point for the imagination, roaming over the wide ocean of possibilities, and guided by reason, particularly reasoning from analogy, until the shore of a new continent of knowledge rises before the prospective mind. As soon as our boldest anticipations become realities by actual perception, imagination wanders and reason directs to higher regions of light.*

Thus the human mind has pressed onward from the simplest to the most wonderful discoveries of every kind. By the aid of philosophy, the eye of the observer has discovered thousands of living beings, in one drop of water; while it has opened his mind to the contemplation of the universe, in which this earth, and the whole of our earthly knowledge, appear but as one drop

* To those who are not acquainted with the history of intellectual philosophy, the above view of the three principal functions of the intellect, will appear, I hope, not as anything new, but as well understood and familiar. Those to whom it may appear otherwise, will find the reason of its novelty, and of the failure of so many ingenious theories concerning the human intellect, from the time of the Greeks to the present, in the hopeless way in which the end was pursued, either by subtle expositions of terms, or by endeavours to explain the manner in which an affection of the organ, by a kind of transubstantiation, becomes a conception of the intellect.

in the unbounded ocean of existence and life. The human mind has travelled, and is still travelling on, in search of new worlds, and further, to the inexhaustible Source of all being. By the light of reason and divine revelation 'the spirit of man searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.'

Such is the nature of the human intellect. The mind of man yearns after truth, as the plant turns towards the sun. Every attainment in knowledge, instead of quenching, only increases the thirst after intellectual light. Our highest intellectual pleasure arises, not so much from the knowledge we have at any time acquired, as from the prospect of infinite progress. We do not fully enjoy, we even feel dissatisfied with any degree of information, however great, unless we see in it the preparation for higher attainments, the promise of a still more plentiful harvest of light. If, therefore, as I believe, the future state will not be a subversion, but a continuation of our nature, a free and full developement of the faculties we already possess, what will be the condition of our intellect in the life to come?

We have seen that it is the nature of the human intellect to expand by degrees, but without end, under the ever increasing impulse of curiosity, and the cooperation of perception, imagination, and reason. It seems, therefore, most natural to suppose, that, in the life to come, we shall neither be confined to our present knowledge, nor be made omniscient; but that the power, the desire, and the opportunities of acquiring new ideas, will be increased indefinitely, in proportion to the attainments we are continually making. All the knowledge we have acquired, that in particular which is calculated to guide us into all truth, will abide with us forever. Our knowledge of nature, of man, and of God, will grow in extent and in truth according to our own intellectual efforts. The fondest and boldest wishes which the soul sends forth from its earthly enclosure to the unknown regions of futurity, will there find a resting place, where all desire of returning will vanish in the prospect of a new land of promise. As the boundaries of human *knowledge* are extended, may it not be supposed that a *new poetry*, the glorious offspring of the regenerated imagination, will spring up and rise beyond the realms of knowledge, as a prophetic vision of worlds to come, which yet exist only in the creative mind of God?

I have spoken of the probable condition of the human intellect in the life to come, and shall next proceed to make some remarks on the immortality of the affections.

[To be concluded in the next number.]

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